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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

FRANKLIN P. RICE,
GEORGE H. HAYNES,

CHARLES L. NICHOLS,
JULIUS H. TUTTLE.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Antiquarian Society

NEW SERIES, VOL. 22.

APRIL 10, 1912—OCTOBER 16, 1912.



WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

1912.

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THE DAVIS PRESS
WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

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NOTE.

The twenty-second volume of the present series contains the records of the Proceedings from April 10 to October 16, 1912.

The reports of the Council have been presented by George Parker Winship and Charles L. Nichols.

Papers have been received from Charles L. Nichols, and Hiram Bingham. The addresses by Charles G. Washburn, Waldo Lincoln and Andrew C. McLaughlin, and the speeches made at the Centennial Dinner, are printed in connection with Centennial Proceedings.

At the end of the volume is printed a List of Officers of the Society, 1812-1912, and a List of Members, 1812-1912, prepared by the library staff.

Obituary notices of the following deceased members appear in this volume: Edward Livingston Davis, Edward Henry Hall, Henry Williamson Haynes, Abbott Lawrence Rotch, William Babcock Weeden, James Willson Brooks, Daniel Merriman, and Francis Andrew March.

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April, 1862.

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April, 1880.

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April, 1886.

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April, 1887.

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April, 1888.

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XIV

April, 1894.

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April, 1895.

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October, 1895.

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April, 1896.

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October, 1896.

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April, 1897.

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October, 1897.

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April, 1898.

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XV

April, 1900.

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October, 1900.

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April, 1904.

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XVI

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April, 1906.

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April, 1907.

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October, 1907.

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XVII

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BOLIVIA.

April, 1910.

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April, 1910.

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April, 1908.

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October, 1910.

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April, 1909.

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April, 1910.

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October, 1896.

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GERMAN EMPIRE.

April, 1875.

OTTO KELLER, PH.D., Prague.

April, 1893.

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April, 1910.

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PAUL VINOGRADOFF, LL.D., Oxford.

October, 1893.

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October, 1894.

HUBERT HALL, London.

October, 1901.

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Kew Gardens.

October, 1910.

ALFRED PERCIVAL MAUDSLAY, London.

HOLLAND.

October, 1895.

JOHANN CHRISTOPH VOLLGRAFF, L.H.D., Utrecht.

MEXICO.

April, 1887.

EDWARD HERBERT THOMPSON, . . . Mérida, Yucatan.

October, 1890.

NICOLÁS LEÓN, PH.D., . . . Mexico.

October, 1904.

DAVID CASARES A.B., . . . Mérida, Yucatan.

April, 1907.

GENARO GARCÍA, . . . Mexico.

April, 1910.

ANTONIO PEÑAFIEL, . . . Mexico.

NORWAY.

October, 1906.

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PERU.

October, 1912.

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PORTUGAL.

October, 1906.

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FRANK FARNUM DRESSER, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
CLYDE AUGUSTUS DUNIWAY, Ph.D.,	Missoula, Mont.
WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, LL.D.,	New York, N. Y.
THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN DWIGHT,	Vaud, Switzerland.
WILBERFORCE EAMES, A.M.,	New York, N. Y.
*HENRY HERBERT EDES, A.M.,	Cambridge, Mass.
EDMUND ARTHUR ENGLER, LL.D.,	St. Louis, Mo.
CHARLES EVANS,	Chicago, Ill.
MAX FARRAND, Ph.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
MERRITT LYNDON FERNALD, B.S.,	Cambridge, Mass.
CARL RUSSELL FISH, Ph.D.,	Madison, Wis.
WILLIAM TROWBRIDGE FORBES, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.
ALCÉE FORTIER, Litt.D.,	New Orleans, La.
*WILLIAM EATON FOSTER, Litt.D.,	Providence, R. I.
GEORGE EBENEZER FRANCIS, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
HOMER GAGE, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.
REV. AUSTIN SAMUEL GARVER, A.M.,	Worcester, Mass.
*FREDERICK LEWIS GAY, A.B.,	Brookline, Mass.
EDWARD HOOKER GILBERT, A.B.,	Ware, Mass.

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*SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH, A.B., . .	Brookline, Mass.
EDWIN AUGUSTUS GROSVENOR, LL.D., .	Amherst, Mass.
LEWIS WINTERS GUNCKEL, Ph.B., . .	Dayton, Ohio.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., . .	Worcester, Mass.
PETER JOSEPH HAMILTON, A.M., . . .	Mobile, Ala.
WILLIAM HARDEN,	Savannah, Ga.
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, LL.D., . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
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BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
DON GLEASON HILL, LL.B.,	Dedham, Mass.
FREDERICK WEBB HODGE	Washington, D. C.
*SAMUEL VERPLANCK HOFFMAN, . . .	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM HENRY HOLMES,	Washington, D. C.
ALBERT HARRISON HOYT, A.M., . . .	Boston, Mass.
ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT, A.M., . . .	Marietta, Ohio.
CHARLES HENRY HULL, Ph.D.,	Ithaca, N. Y.
GAILLARD HUNT,	Washington, D. C.
ARCHER MILTON HUNTINGTON, A.M., .	New York, N. Y.
JOHN FRANKLIN JAMESON, LL.D., . . .	Washington, D. C.
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ALFRED L. KROEBER, Ph.D.,	San Francisco, Cal.
WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, A.B.,	Cambridge, Mass.
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*RT. REV. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, LL.D., .	Boston, Mass.
FRANCIS HENRY LEE,	Salem, Mass.
*WALDO LINCOLN, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
GEORGE EMERY LITTLEFIELD, A.B., . .	Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM ROSCOE LIVERMORE,	Boston, Mass.
*HENRY CABOT LODGE, LL.D.,	Nahant, Mass.
ARTHUR LORD, A.B.,	Plymouth, Mass.

*JOSEPH FLORIMOND LOUBAT, LL.D.,	Paris, France.
REV. WILLIAM DELOSS LOVE, PH.D.,	Hartford, Conn.
*ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM DENISON LYMAN, A.M., . .	Walla Walla, Wash.
SAMUEL WALKER MCCALL, LL.D., . .	Winchester, Mass.
WILLIAM MACDONALD, LL.D., . . .	Providence, R. I.
ANDREW CUNNINGHAM McLAUGHLIN, LL.B.,	Chicago, Ill.
JOHN BACH McMASTER, LL.D., . .	Philadelphia, Pa.
HENRY ALEXANDER MARSH, . . .	Worcester, Mass.
ALBERT MATTHEWS, A.B., . . .	Boston, Mass.
EDWIN DOAK MEAD, . . .	Boston, Mass.
THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL, LL.D.,	Ravenna, Ohio.
JOHN MCKINSTRY MERRIAM, A.B., .	Framingham, Mass.
*ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, PH.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
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ANSON DANIEL MORSE, LL.D., . .	Amherst, Mass.
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WILFRED HAROLD MUNRO, L.H.D., .	Providence, R. I.
WILLIAM NELSON, A.M., . . .	Paterson, N. J.
*CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M.D., .	Worcester, Mass.
FREDERICK ALBION OBER, . . .	Hackensack, N. J.
HERBERT LEVI OSGOOD, PH.D., . .	New York, N. Y.
THOMAS McADORY OWEN, LL.D., .	Montgomery, Ala.
NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., . . .	Worcester, Mass.
VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, . . .	New York, N. Y.
REV. HENRY AINSWORTH PARKER, A.M.,	Cambridge, Mass.
STEPHEN DENISON PEET, PH.D., . .	Salem, Mass.
SAMUEL WHITAKER PENNYPACKER, LL.D.,	Pennypacker's Mills, Pa.
FREDERIC WARD PUTNAM, Sc.D., . .	Cambridge, Mass.
HERBERT PUTNAM, LL.D., . . .	Washington, D. C.
*JAMES FORD RHODES, LL.D., . . .	Boston, Mass.
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*ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, LL.D., .	Worcester, Mass.
*ELIAS HARLOW RUSSELL, . . .	Tilton, N. H.
MARSHALL HOWARD SAVILLE, . . .	New York, N. Y.
JAMES SCHOULER, LL.D., . . .	Intervale, N. H.
ALBERT SHAW, LL.D., . . .	New York, N. Y.

* Life members.

WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, LL.D.,	Princeton, N. J.
CHARLES CARD SMITH, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.
JUSTIN HARVEY SMITH, LL.D.,	Boston, Mass.
WILLIAM ADDISON SMITH, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
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*REV. CALVIN STEBBINS, A.B.,	Framingham, Mass.
EDWARD LUTHER STEVENSON, PH.D.,	New York, N. Y.
WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, LL.D.,	Washington, D. C.
CHARLES HENRY TAYLOR, JR.,	Boston, Mass.
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ALLEN CLAPP THOMAS, A.M.,	Haverford, Pa.
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ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER, PH.D.,	Cambridge, Mass.
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REV. WILLISTON WALKER, LITT.D.,	New Haven, Conn.
CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
REV. THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS, A.M.,	Ipswich, Mass.
BARRETT WENDELL, A.B.,	Boston, Mass.
ANDREW DICKSON WHITE, D.C.L.,	Ithaca, N. Y.
ALBERT HENRY WHITIN,	Whitinsville, Mass.
*GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, A.M.,	Providence, R. I.
THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP,	Boston, Mass.
HENRY ERNEST WOODS, A.M.,	Boston, Mass.
SAMUEL BAYARD WOODWARD, M.D.,	Worcester, Mass.

* Life members.

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 10, 1912, IN ELLIS HALL AT
THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BUILDING, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

The meeting was called to order at 10.30 A. M. by
the President, Mr. WALDO LINCOLN.

The following members were present:

Nathaniel Paine, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Samuel S. Green, Andrew McF. Davis, Frederic W. Putnam, Henry H. Edes, A. George Bullock, William E. Foster, Charles P. Bowditch, Charles P. Greenough, Francis H. Dewey, William T. Forbes, George H. Haynes, Arthur Lord, Charles L. Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, Edward S. Morse, George P. Winship, Austin S. Garver, Samuel Utley, James W. Brooks, Henry F. Jenks, George L. Kittredge, Albert Matthews, William MacDonald, Clarence S. Brigham, Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, Franklin P. Rice, Worthington C. Ford, Henry E. Woods, Julius H. Tuttle, Charles G. Washburn, William C. Farabee, William V. Kellen, Wilfred H. Munro, Justin H. Smith, Hiram Bingham, Henry W. Cunningham, Roland B. Dixon, Frank F. Dresser, Barrett Wendell, George Francis Dow, Henry A. Parker, John S. Bassett.

After the Secretary had read the call for the meeting, it was voted to dispense with the reading of the minutes of the preceding meeting, which had been distributed to the members in print.

The report of the Council was read by Mr. George Parker Winship, and was referred to the committee of publication.

The Secretary stated that the Council proposed for election to the Society the names of the following gentlemen:—

Resident members:

Clarence Walworth Alvord, Urbana, Ill.

Livingston Davis, Boston, Mass.

Archer Butler Hulbert, Marietta, Ohio.

George Emery Littlefield, Boston, Mass.

Charles Henry Taylor, Jr., Boston, Mass.

Foreign member:

Frank Cundall, Kingston, Jamaica.

A ballot having been taken, they were declared elected.

The President announced that there were two vacancies in the Council, and it was moved that a committee be appointed by the President to fill the vacancies. The committee appointed, Messrs. A. McF. Davis, Greenough and Brooks, recommended that Mr. Francis H. Dewey of Worcester and Mr. Henry W. Cunningham of Boston be elected members of the Council, and a ballot having been cast, they were duly elected.

The President spoke briefly of the achievement of the discovery of the South Pole by Roald Amundsen, a member of the Society, referred to the progress of the Centennial Fund, and outlined the arrangements for the approaching Centennial Meeting. He remarked that there would be an important omission from the program of the day on account of the death of Abbott Lawrence Rotch, who had intended to prepare a paper upon "Early Ballooning in America."

Papers were then read by Dr. Charles L. Nichols of Worcester upon "Massachusetts Almanacs," and by Hiram Bingham of Yale University upon "Vitcos, the Last Inca Capital." By vote of the Society, the papers were referred to the committee of publication.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP,

Secretary.

After the meeting, the members of the Society were entertained at luncheon at the Algonquin Club by the members residing in Boston and vicinity.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The Society has lost by death, since its meeting in October, 1911, Henry Williamson Haynes, who died on February 16, Rev. Edward Henry Hall, on February 22, Edward Livingston Davis, on March 2, William Babcock Weedon, on March 28 and Abbott Lawrence Rotch, on April 7. These names stood, respectively, 15, 7, 4, 23 and 76 on our roll of members in the order of their election; Mr. Rotch was elected in 1899, Mr. Weedon in 1884, Professor Haynes in 1881, Dr. Hall in 1875, Mr. Davis in 1867. All had been regular attendants at our meetings and to each the Society is indebted for official services of great value. Mr. Weedon had been a member of the Council since 1893 and Mr. Davis since 1884.

The Proceedings for the meeting of October, 1911 have been distributed to the members, as well as the second volume of the Diary of Cotton Mather, which was printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society and kindly supplied for members of this Society who are not of that. The Society has now completed all of the work of publication which it has had in hand.

The Council, at its meeting in March, voted to appropriate \$50.00 annually for five years toward the expense of compiling the "Writings on American History." This is a Bibliography of the currently issued publications dealing with the history of this country. It has been published annually since 1906, and our associate, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, assures us that it is dependent for its continuance upon the subscriptions of a number of national and state historical societies. The value of the publication to the library staff and to users of our library would be an ample return for the amount of our

contribution. The Council also considered that as a national historical association we should be among the first to encourage such a work, designed to simplify and to facilitate the researches of all who are studying in the field of American history.

The new building, the present "Antiquarian Hall," has now been in use for somewhat more than a year. The staff began regular work in their present quarters on February 2, 1911, and the doors were opened to the public on that day. Since that date it has been open, on every week-day from 9 to 5, excepting Saturday afternoons, Sundays, and certain holidays.

The work of putting everything in order, of verifying the shelf-lists and rearranging where the new facilities make this desirable, has gone on steadily. The Librarian reports that the collection of American periodicals, containing about 8,000 volumes, has been carefully sorted and placed in alphabetical order, that the Bibles, Psalm Books and Books of Common Prayer have been rearranged according to a chronological order, and that the maps received from the New England Historic Genealogical Society, together with the maps belonging to the Society, have been classified and indexed, under the immediate oversight of the President.

Through the kindness of our associate, Mr. Archer M. Huntington, a nearly complete set of the publications of the Hispanic Society of America has been presented to this Society. The Council voted the thanks of the Society to Mr. Huntington, for this evidence of his interest in our work, at its meeting in March.

The duplicates received through gifts or purchase during the past two years have been disposed of as one lot to the New York State Library. The amount received from this sale will be added to the Purchasing Fund.

An exhibition of engravings signed by or attributed to Paul Revere, with other contemporary prints illustrating his work, has occupied the cases in the upper hall of the building since October last. The Society is under

obligations to the Worcester Art Museum, the Boston Public Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Harvard College Library, the John Carter Brown Library, Mr. F. J. Libbie and Mr. Hollis French of Boston, and Mr. Nathaniel Paine and Dr. Charles L. Nichols of Worcester for the loan of prints not in its own collection. This exhibition is to be followed by one of notable books from American colonial presses.

A bindery has been equipped with the necessary machinery in the basement of the building and a competent man engaged to do the work. The results of his skill are already to be seen on the shelves. The binding for the Antiquarian Society consists chiefly of two classes—rare books and newspapers, both of which should be bound within the building, the first as an insurance against loss and the second because of their bulk. The satisfactory results so far attained render the continuance of this arrangement most advisable. We have provided the necessary equipment, but we have not sufficient funds to carry on the work regularly, which is the only economical way to have it done. The binding fund yields no more than enough to meet about one-quarter of the necessary annual charges; that is, it will pay for the wages and materials for about three months each year. There is work enough in sight to keep a man fully occupied for several years. The Council confidently hopes that some member will provide the money to assure the continuance of this very important work, so essential to the preservation of our resources.

There were two new faces at the first meeting of the Council for the current year, and two more new names must now be added to its roll. The Secretary, elected in 1909, has already ceased to be one of its younger members in length of service. Happily we hope for very many more years to have the direction and advice of those who have long been familiar with the traditions and the hidden influences which ought to dominate such a Society as this. The active management, however, has already passed to younger hands. The Society

will enter upon its second century with a new body in charge of its new facilities, anxious to direct its activities toward new achievements, along old lines. The Society may rest assured that we who are least familiar with the intimate traditions of the Society for whose welfare we have been made responsible, will be the most insistent upon keeping within the well-worn paths of past usefulness.

We must all recognize, however, that the conditions of life, intellectual no less than physical, have changed greatly since Isaiah Thomas determined that Worcester should be the home of a learned Society. Our problem is to carry out the ideals which Thomas and his co-laborers established, as they would do were they in our places with our opportunities. The Council feels that this is a problem which calls for very serious thinking and very comprehensive consideration of all the factors which affect the present usefulness and the possibilities for future greatness of this Society. Recognizing our strength and our limitations, we hope to build a substantial and adequate scheme for future growth and activity, which shall be worthy of the Founder and of all who have been gathered into the American Antiquarian Society.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP,

For the Council.

OBITUARIES.

EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS

Edward Livingston Davis was born April 22, 1834, and died March 2, 1912. His residence always was Worcester, Mass. He was the son of Isaac Davis, a father distinguished during a long life by good business judgment and faithful public service. A graduate of Brown University in the class of 1854 and a student at Harvard Law School, he was admitted to the bar in 1857. In the following year he became connected with the railroad development of that day by engaging in the manufacture of railroad iron and car wheels. He was treasurer of the Washburn Iron Co. until 1882 when he retired. Although then withdrawing from dominating leadership in business, he remained through life a director in the Worcester National Bank, in the Boston & Albany Railroad, and in other corporations where his ripe experience brought strength to business and financial enterprise. He was earnestly and efficiently devoted to Worcester. The conspicuous offices of member and president of the common council, mayor, and state senator were his by the votes of his townsmen. In less prominent but no less important positions he served his native city until his death. He was one of the Park Commission from 1884 to 1900, during the years while the system was being established, which has given to every section of the city its place of recreation and beauty. He was a donor of Lake Park and its attractive stone tower. He was a member of the Sinking Fund Commission for thirty-four years, from 1878 until 1912, and its chairman during the last twenty-three years. He was intensely interested in these vital municipal

functions and the value of his service can hardly be measured. It can be estimated only in terms of honest efficacy and uplift of civic ideals. With financial, social and ecclesiastical affiliations, which would have tempted many to remove to a residence in the neighborhood of Boston, his affectionate loyalty continued firm to the city of his birth. As president of the Worcester County Musical Association, Trustee of Rural Cemetery, and in many other relations, he contributed largely to the purity, potency and elevation of the business, political and social atmosphere of Worcester. He was a devout Episcopalian and in different capacities aided in the management of the charitable, missionary and other religious work of that church. His own conduct and standards illustrated the ennobling force of Christianity in every day affairs. Married in 1859 to Hannah Gardner, who died in 1861; in 1869 he married Maria Louisa Robbins, who survived him. Three children were born to them of whom two are now living. He was elected a member of this Society in 1867 and became one of its council in 1884. He prepared the report of the council for April, 1908, and for October, 1911. His attendance at meetings was constant and he was a frequent participant in discussions. To the Society he was a discriminating donor of valuable books and a generous contributor of material resources.

The details of a life, even so full of varied interests and useful activities as was that of Mr. Davis, are few and briefly told. He was a strong man. He bore the burden of large responsibilities with the consciousness of power. His unobtrusive democracy, his refined tastes, the charm of his presence, his trained intellect and the kindness of his disposition made him a warm friend, a trusted adviser, a helpful associate, a wise public servant, and a citizen hopeful and effective in high adventure for the common good. He was one by whose character the life of the city and commonwealth grows richer and more sound. Society is more wholesome for his having lived.

A. P. R.

EDWARD HENRY HALL.

Edward Henry Hall died in Cambridge, Mass., February 22, 1912. He was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, April 16, 1831, was graduated from Harvard in 1851 with the degree of A. B. and from Harvard Divinity School in 1855. From 1859 to 1867 he was pastor in Plymouth, Mass., during which period for one year he was chaplain of the 44th regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers in the Civil War. His later pastorates were in Worcester, Mass., 1869-1882, and in Cambridge, Mass., 1882-1893, after which he continued to reside in Cambridge, devoting himself to study and to publishing pamphlets and papers on topics which had interested him in his professional life. In 1902, Harvard conferred on him the degree of D.D.

Dr. Hall was a man of deep and varied scholarship, refined manners, great courtesy and took an active interest in the communities in which he lived. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of this Society since 1875. He was a member of the Council for one year in 1884, was a regular attendant at the meetings, bequeathed many of his books to the Society and contributed these papers to its Proceedings: Report of the Council for April, 1880, containing a paper on "Early American Art," "Reminiscences of Doctor John Park" in vol. 7, new series, 1890. S. U.

HENRY WILLIAMSON HAYNES.

Henry Williamson Haynes was born in Bangor, Me., September 20, 1831, and died in Boston, Mass., February 16, 1912.

He was graduated from Harvard in 1851, with the degree of A. B., which was followed with that of A. M. in 1859. He taught school, practiced law for a short time and then was chosen Professor of Latin and Greek in the University of Vermont, which position he held from 1867 to 1872. For nearly forty years he has de-

voted himself to archæology, making investigations in Europe, Egypt, and elsewhere, and he had a valuable collection of books, fossils, minerals, coins, vases, and similar articles of historic interest which he bequeathed to societies and museums devoted to those subjects. He married Helen Weld Blanchard, August 1, 1867, who died in 1902.

He became a member of this Society in 1881, was a regular attendant at its meetings and contributed papers with the following titles to its Proceedings: "What is the true site of the seven cities of Cibola visited by Coronado in 1540?" in vol. 1, new series, 1880; "Notes on copper implements of America," in vol. 3, 1884; "The Alabama Stone," in vol. 5, 1888; "Cotton Mather and his slaves," in vol. 6, 1889; "Memoir of Francis A. Walker," in vol. 11, 1897.

S. U.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE ROTCH.

Abbott Lawrence Rotch was born in Boston, January 6, 1861, and died in that city April 7, 1912. He was graduated at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1884, always maintained a warm interest in it and was one of its trustees for several years preceding his death. Mechanical engineering was his specialty, but being happily relieved from the question of income he at once entered upon meteorological studies and carried out a project which he had long entertained by founding, in 1885, the Blue Hill Observatory, which has obtained world-wide fame for its observations of clouds, for its first use of kites for meteorological data, for first observations high above the Atlantic ocean, for first observations from five to ten miles above the North American continent with registered balloons, and for experiments which have had a great influence on the evolution of flying machines. Since 1906 he has been Professor of Meteorology in Harvard and he received the degree of A. M. from that University in 1891.

Professor Rotch had taken part in scientific expeditions, belonged to many learned societies, and had

published considerable scientific data. He was elected to the Society in 1899 and contributed the following papers to its Proceedings: "Did Benjamin Franklin fly his electrical kite before he invented the lightning rod?" in vol. 18, new series, 1906; "Benjamin Franklin and the first balloons," in vol. 18, 1907; "Benjamin Franklin's original letters about balloons," in vol. 19, 1908. A paper by him entitled "A contribution to the history of ballooning in America" was to have been prepared for the meeting on April 10, 1912, but his death intervened.

He married Margaret Randolph Anderson, November 22, 1893, who with three children survives him. s. u.

WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN.

William Babcock Weedon was born in Bristol, R. I., September 1, 1834, and died in Providence, March 28, 1912. He was a student at Brown University, 1847-50, but left without graduating, receiving the honorary degree of A. M. from that institution in 1875. After leaving college he became a successful woolen manufacturer. In the Civil War he was first lieutenant in Battery A, 1st Regiment, R. I. Light Artillery. After the battle of Bull Run he was promoted to the rank of captain and came home to recruit Battery C of the same regiment and returned to the front with his new command. A year later he became chief of artillery and ordnance of the First Division, Fifth Corps and while holding this important position directed the batteries at the battles of Mechanicsville, Gaines's Mill and Malvern Hill. He was also at the siege of Yorktown and at the battle of Hanover Court House, in both of which he took a conspicuous part. On July 21, 1862, he resigned his commission, returned to Providence and resumed business, in which he remained till 1902, when he retired. He remained a director in several financial and business corporations in which he was an active and efficient force. He was married first to Amy Dexter Owen, secondly to Hannah Raynor Balch, and thirdly to Jeanie

Lippitt who, with six children by the second marriage survives him.

Mr. Weeden was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Rhode Island Historical Society, the Massachusetts Commandery of the Loyal Legion and of this Society to which he was elected in 1884. He has been a member of the Council since 1893. He made a generous contribution to the Centennial Fund and had presented these papers to the Society: "Early African Slave Trade in New England," read in October, 1887; "The World of Commerce in 1492," read in October, 1892; "Quality the Prevailing Element in Representation," read in October, 1894; "Development of the American People," read in April, 1899; "Three Commonwealths: Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island; Their Early Development," read in October, 1902; "Ideal Newport in the 18th Century," read in October, 1906; and "Early Commercial Providence," read in April, 1909.

Our associate, Professor MacDonald, an intimate friend of Mr. Weeden, wrote of him the following notice, part of which has been recorded by the Council as its tribute to him:

"Early in life Mr. Weeden began the historical studies which resulted in the production of a number of books of permanent value in the field of American history and won for him an honorable place among the American historians. In the field of American economic history he was a pioneer. He was one of the first American writers to perceive the value which lay in the records of industrial and commercial activities, of land-holding and agricultural development, of currency, finance and trade, and of social habits and customs. With painstaking and untiring zeal he searched the early records of New England, both printed and manuscript, for material illustrative of the life of the people.

"His 'Social Law of Labor,' published in 1882, was a broad historical survey of the relations of labor and capital in Europe and in this country, while his 'Econ-

omic and Social History of New England' established his reputation as an economic historian and in its field of colonial history has not been superseded. Later studies in the same field were published under the titles of 'Indian Money as a Factor in New England Civilization,' and 'Early Rhode Island.' In a recent volume entitled 'War Government, Federal and State,' he examined for the first time the governmental and administrative operations of the States and of the United States during the Civil War, and supplemented all previous studies of the civil side of that great struggle. Of Mr. Weeden's devotion to the interests of this Society and his active and intelligent participation in the work of the Council, the Council record their grateful and affectionate appreciation. Amid the labors and cares of a large business he found time for systematic study and writing, for generous concern with many phases of culture, and for wide and enduring friendships. To those who for years were his associates here, as to those who shared the friendship and hospitality of his home, he leaves the memory of a gracious presence, a zeal for all good causes, a broad outlook upon the world of men and ideas, and an intellectual interest which ended only with his death."

S. U.

NOTES ON THE ALMANACS OF
MASSACHUSETTS.

BY CHARLES L. NICHOLS

The origin of the almanac is wrapped in as much obscurity as that of the science of astronomy upon which its usefulness depends. It is possible, however, to trace some of the steps of its evolution and to note the uses to which it has been applied as that evolution has taken place.

When Fabius, the secretary of Appius Claudius, stole the *fasti-sacri* or *Kalendares* of the Roman priesthood three hundred years before Christ, and exhibited the white tablets on the walls of the Forum, he not only struck a blow for religious freedom, but also gave to the people a long coveted source of information.

Until that period no fast or holy-day had been proclaimed except by the decision of the priests, since by their secret methods were made the calculations for those days. From that time the calendar of days has belonged to the people themselves, and has held an important position in the almanac of all nations.

When Ptolemy in 150, A. D., prepared his catalogue of stars, and laid the foundation for more exact and continuous records of their movements, the development of the *Ephemeris*, or daily note-book of the planets' places in our almanacs was assured.

The meaning of the "man of signs," which is still so commonly seen, was minutely described by Manilius in his *Astronomicon*, written in the reign of the Emperor Tiberius. Origen and Jamblicus state that the principle underlying this belonged to a much earlier

age, and represented an earnest effort on the part of medical men to systematize their labors for the physical welfare of mankind. As late as the 15th century, separate medical almanacs were prepared by physicians to enable people to care for themselves along the lines indicated by this well-known symbol.

It was not until the middle of the same century that the almanac in its present form was originated by Regiomontanus. This celebrated astronomer of Nuremberg gave to us the almanac of 1472 and the larger Ephemeris of 1475, both of which were printed as well as calculated by him, and the arrangement of the astronomical data used in these books has been continued almost without change from those days to the present time.

It may be of bibliographical interest to recall the fact that of the earliest specimens of the printing art now in existence and ascribed to Gutenberg, there are four calendars,—the Astronomical calendar of 1448 at Wiesbaden, the Turkish calendar of 1455 at Munich, the Medical calendar of 1457 at Paris, and the Cisianus of 1444 at Cambridge, perhaps the earliest of them all. The first book with a true title-page was the Calendar of Regiomontanus, before noted, in the edition which was printed in 1476 by Erard Ratdolt of Venice. Turning to our own country, the almanac of 1639, by Captain William Pierce, was the first book printed in British America, and the *Kalendarium Pennsylvaniense* of 1686 was the first book printed in the Middle colonies.

These facts have been recorded here in order that the importance of this small book may be emphasized. So numerous have the issues of the almanac become in our day, and to such undesirable uses have they often been put, that we are in danger of forgetting their true value. Our Society possesses a large and important collection of this annual, which has received until recently a small amount of the recognition it has deserved. The day of preserving books without possible utility or definite literary value is fast disappearing, and in the libraries of societies like our own it will

soon become intolerable to fill the shelves with material which has little promise of practical usefulness.

In the pages of the almanac we can see reflected from year to year the various phases of thought in those years; we can read the earliest changes which took place in scientific and astronomical development along those lines, and we can note the varying demand for literary entertainment which characterized the age in which the almanac was produced. We can learn many details of the lives and characters of the almanac-compilers from their yearly confidences to their readers, and watch their ready responses to the demands of the changing years. These are some of the opportunities which a consideration of these neglected annuals offers to us.

A most valuable mine of information contained in them lies in the study of the almanacs as a source of typographical history. In the imprints of these books published yearly over a continuous period of time, as no other books were so issued, we can find recorded not only the names of printers and publishers, but also their various changes of location with their fortunes and often their misfortunes recorded here for all time. When in the future a history of typography is written, it is to these books that the writer must turn for exact information on this subject. As the value of such a collection of books depends upon its completeness, it behooves our Society to render this—already far beyond that of most societies—as perfect as is possible at this late day.

It is my desire to-day to show that almanacs do reflect the scientific, literary and political growth of the years of their production, and to take the almanacs of Massachusetts as an illustration of this fact. For this purpose they may be divided into three arbitrary periods; that from 1639 to 1700 being the first, that from 1700 to 1800 being the second, and the third extending to 1850. The characteristic of the first period will be found distinctly religious; in the second period practical instruction and literary entertainment

were sought, while in the third the various national movements which took place before 1850 will be noted in the Almanacs.

In the introductory remarks of his almanac for 1683, Cotton Mather writes, "Such an anniversary composure comes into almost as many hands as the best of books." If we look into Evans' Bibliography, we will find a strong confirmation of this statement regarding the widespread use of the almanac in those early colonial days. Nine hundred and sixty-seven titles are there recorded between the years 1639 and 1700. If all religious books and all pamphlets prepared for government use during this period are excluded, less than one hundred and fifty titles remain, of which number eighty are almanacs. The very fact that so large a proportion of the secular issues of the press consisted of almanacs, at a time when the printing press was an expensive medium of expression, is sufficient evidence of the position which this work then held in the colonies. Another inference to be drawn from the same figures is that the large number of religious books printed at this time proves the strongly religious tendency of those times.

The almanac appealed to three classes of persons: those directly interested in the astronomical data therein contained, navigators who came to or sailed from these shores, and all persons who consulted its pages for the daily flight of time and for dates of special days or who were attracted by the literary entertainment and the practical suggestions furnished from year to year.

The interest in astronomy at this time is shown by the fact that of 44 almanacs issued before 1687, of which we have copies now in existence, 41 were prepared by 26 graduates of Harvard College, ten of whom were at the same time tutors in that institution. These almanacs were published, in nearly every case, during the three years of post-graduate study for the degree of Master of Arts, and the calculations in them may have been a portion of the preparation for that end.

While we have no knowledge of the course in Astronomy at Harvard at this time, or of the professors who presided over it, such a manifestation of interest in this subject, continued for more than forty years, shows how important a position it held in the college curriculum, and how wide-spread an interest it had awakened in the student body and among the educated people of the colony. The Ptolemaic theory of the earth as the centre of the universe was still the popular belief. In his almanac for 1675 John Foster advanced strong arguments in favor of the Copernican system, but in Nathaniel Mather's almanac, eleven years later, the author says that Robert Hook's discovery that there is a sensible parallax of the earth's orbit among the fixed stars seems undeniable proof of the truth of the new system which had not gained in popularity up to that time, and that he believes it will soon be accepted, and replace the theory which had so long influenced the public mind.

One reason for this delay was the strong hold which astrology maintained over the people. A striking illustration of the important position which this science held is the fact that William Lilly, the astrologer, was consulted in 1648 as to the day and hour favorable for the escape of King Charles from Carisbrooke Castle, and although the prediction was no more successful than was the advice given the same Charles by Sir George Wharton as to the time favorable to engage in the battle of Naseby, the popular faith in this so-called science remained as strong as ever. In addition to this belief in the influence of the stars upon mundane affairs, the various conjunctions and eclipses of the major planets and the appearance of meteors in particular were looked upon as direct messages from the Almighty boding disaster to the physical world, and disease, misfortune or death to mankind. This belief, expressed by the Venerable Bede five centuries before was still so strong that we cannot be surprised to find the almanacs of the New World filled with similar dire predictions.

There was this difference, however, which was the outcome of the stern religious character of the Puritans. On the title-page of the almanac for 1669 is placed the motto: "*Astra regunt mundum, sed astra regit Deus,*" and in all references to portents from these phenomena we read that while they did bring evil to mankind it was folly for man to forecast what form this was to take or on whom it was to fall, the universal application being for all men to repent and be prepared for the inevitable. Not until the Copernican system was established and the position of the earth relegated to its inferior place in the economy of the heavens did this influence of astrology fade from the minds of men whose judgments on most subjects were more sane and correct.

To navigators the almanac was of great importance. When the Mayflower crossed the Atlantic the ship-master had little assistance from the imperfect instruments and the still more imperfect tables at his command, and looked to the stars largely for his guidance. Indeed, the Nautical Almanac for 1798 stated that the improved tables of those days were considered of great excellence if they enabled the calculator to find his position on the ocean within a degree.

To these men Almanacs, which contained the times in the New World of the rising and setting of sun, moon and certain prominent stars, were of great practical value. When we remember that 26,000 persons were brought to these shores from 1620 to 1640, and with safety, and know that during this period the ship's place could not be calculated within more than seventy miles of its true position, it may be readily inferred that the success of this exodus to a new world cannot be referred entirely to the captain, whose imperfect computations in his cabin were supposed to lead his precious cargo to the shores of New England. Among this class of people too—the sea-faring men—a belief in the influence of the stars was strong. Indeed, not more than one hundred years have passed since it was the

almost universal custom to enquire of those persons, whose astrological studies enabled them to make such predictions, as to the time favorable for the departure of ships from these shores.

But it was the people in general more than astronomers and navigators whom the almanac of the seventeenth century benefited. Samuel Atkins in his *Kalendarium* of 1686 writes that in his journeys he found the people generally complaining that they scarcely knew how time passed, nor that they hardly knew the Day of Rest, or Lord's Day, when it was, for want of a Diary or Day Book, which is called an almanac. It will be noted that he speaks only of the Lord's Day, and there will be found no reference to the usual Saints' days in these early Almanacs. In the earliest now in existence—that for 1646—Samuel Danforth, its author, says: "But we under the New Testament acknowledge no holy-dayes, except ye first day of the week only: and as for all other, whether fixed or movable (unless special occasion requiring, Authority calleth to fast or feast) we reject them wholly as superstitious and anti-christian which being built upon rotten foundations, Idoll dayes, and in the day of their visitation shall perish."

The author of the almanac of 1656 states that "The stars are an universal living dial appointed to divide between day and night and to be for signs and seasons." And Nehemiah Hobart, in 1673, gave the southing of two noted stars for each month, "from which" he says "the time of the night may be guessed." These were the days of sun-dials and hour-glasses—not of clocks and watches. Records have been found of 36 clocks in Boston between 1645 and 1687, and Mr. John Albree noted but four clocks in one hundred and eleven Essex County inventories from 1699 to 1702. He also states that in the records of the witchcraft trials, "Sunrise, noon and sunset" were the only expressions used to denote the passage of time. Sun-rising and setting, the changes of the moon and the

positions of certain prominent stars were the important data in those days and these were recorded in the Almanacs. Eclipses and conjunctions and descriptions of meteors or blazing stars also had their places in these books, and with a calendar of courts, elections and interesting events made up the almanacs of this period.

Stephen Day is believed to have printed an almanac yearly from 1639 to 1646, and in the issue of the following year we find the only known imprint of his son, Matthew Day. In 1649 Samuel Green began to print, and it is stated by Isaiah Thomas that Gregory Dexter, the personal friend of Roger Williams, went to Cambridge from his home in Rhode Island for several years to assist the new printer in setting up his almanac. As Gregory Dexter had printed in London in 1643 the *Key to the Indian Language*, and in the same year printed an *Almanac for Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, it may be inferred that his superior knowledge was acceptable to Green for this purpose. As eighteen of the almanacs of this period contained only the initials of the compiler, it is also a fair inference that the inspiration for their preparation came from the printer, whose interpretation of the public need, and perhaps also recognition of his own reward, induced him yearly to seek the materials for his almanacs from the College in Cambridge, then the centre of all knowledge in the colonies. A peculiarity of the early Massachusetts almanacs, from 1639 to 1687, was the position of March as the first month, and February as the last in these year books. While the month of March was the legal beginning of the year in England; while it had been from the time of Julius Cæsar, and continued to be until 1752, when the Gregorian calendar was there adopted; and while specific laws were enacted by the Commonwealth to further confirm this under the new rule of the people, in no calendar known to me was this fact formally recognized by placing March in this position, except in the Massachusetts colonies during these

forty-eight years. No explanation of this peculiarity of our almanacs has been found. It may be that this was simply an effort towards absolute truthfulness of expression, or that it was one more proof of the desire to separate themselves, even in these ways, from those whom they left in England, for the sake of religious and personal freedom.

The independence of tradition of these men is also shown by an article in the *Scripture Kalendar* of London for 1660. Henry Jessey, the author, in an argument in favor of omitting the heathen names for month and day from the almanac, says: "The New England almanac sets them down thus—the first month, the second month, &c. And such is the example of all the reformed churches in New England and of some in London." In his *Almanac* for 1666, Henry Flint carried this still further, and omitted all the month names, heathen and scripture alike.

In addition to the contents before enumerated, a few pages were devoted to an explanation of astronomical facts and the phenomena of the current year. In 1676 John Sherman followed this with an address on moral degeneracy in New England, and in 1677 a sermon on the right use of time for the good of eternity followed a description of the calendar systems. In 1683 Cotton Mather wrote that his almanac contains a poor essay for the advancement of Scripture knowledge and christian piety—and almost without exception similar use was yearly made of the opportunity to draw a moral lesson from the astronomical facts of the time.

These examples are given to show the strong religious character which pervaded these annuals, and extended even to the forms in which they were expressed. There were two exceptions to this rule, John Foster and John Tulley.

John Foster, who was graduated from Harvard College in 1667, was too busy as a school-teacher to take his second degree. He had already engraved the Colonial seal and the portrait of Richard Mather when his first

Almanac—that for 1675—was printed by Samuel Green. In the early part of the year 1675, although unskilled in the business, he bought the type and press left by Marmaduke Johnson, just deceased, and became the first printer in Boston. From this man, a self-made engraver and a self-made printer, one would expect to find new departures in the almanacs published by him from 1675 until his death in 1681, and this series did differ materially from all others up to that time. John Foster, in the Almanac for 1675 gave an extended account of the Pythagorean system, and adduced arguments in favor of the Copernican theory recently promulgated. In 1676 he devoted two pages to each calendar month, and discussed at length the interpretation of the weather signs. No copy of his Almanac for 1677 is known, but in that for 1678, in addition to a description of eclipses, Foster gives a cut of the “man of signs,” the first in the colonies, and several elaborate astronomical diagrams which his skill as an engraver enabled him to produce. The Almanac for 1679 describes the tides, and those of spring in particular. That of 1680 is devoted to a detailed account of the planets, and in 1681, his last, we find an interesting account of comets, with that which appeared the previous year in detail. These almanacs are more elaborate than those which preceded them; show a fuller knowledge of astronomy, and unlike the rest in this period contain few references to the religious opinions of the day. Of these almanacs he was compiler, engraver and printer, and in addition to the previously mentioned differences from his brother astronomers he stands alone in these particulars also.

John Tulley, who lived in Seabrook, Connecticut, and was not a Harvard graduate, published in Boston a yearly almanac from 1687 to his death in 1702. He was a teacher of astronomy and navigation, and became noted—almost notorious—for his skill in weather prediction. His series also manifested little of the religious tone which characterized the others of this

period. So unusual in the colonies were his astrological and meteorological predictions, however, that Christian Lodowick, in his *Almanac* for 1695 severely criticised them, in reply to which Tulley in the following year offered an humble apology. In defense of Tulley, it should be said that at this time the English almanacs contained the absurd predictions and prognostications which ten years later led to the cutting sarcasm of Dean Swift, and a comparison of Tulley with these shows that he was much less open to criticism.

John Tulley restored January to the first place in the calendar months in his almanac for 1687, according to the custom of the English almanacs, and introduced into his pages for the first time in the colonies the fasts and feasts of the English Church. His almanac for 1699 was the first to contain the list of roads and distances from Boston to other towns, an innovation which was, until the introduction of railroads, an important feature in the usefulness of these books. It may be said that Tulley approached more nearly the commercial position in his almanacs as Foster did the scientific in distinction from the others in this period, the characteristic of which was so strongly religious.

Of the eighteen early almanacs containing only the initials of the compiler, the authorship of three has not yet been definitely decided. The almanac for 1656, the earliest in the possession of The American Antiquarian Society, and a unique copy, was compiled by T. S. It is my belief that this man was that Thomas Shepard, who was graduated from Harvard in 1653, was a tutor when this almanac was published, and wrote in later years on astronomical subjects. The almanac for 1657, also unique and in our collection, has the initials S. B. This book has been ascribed to Samuel Brackenbury, who was, however, but eleven at this date, and it seems to me probable that the true compiler was Samuel Bradstreet, who was graduated in 1653 and was also a tutor at the date this almanac was issued. He was interested in scientific studies, and became a physician. His

mother, Ann Bradstreet, stated that her son was a skilful versifier, and this almanac contains all the explanations in verse in place of the usual prose. His name, like the above T. S. is the only one known to us which offers the arguments of probability as here stated.

The third almanac, that for 1692, was compiled by H. B. and printed by Benjamin Harris. Dr. Samuel A. Green conjectures that H. B. was Benjamin Harris, and the following facts would help to confirm this suggestion. Benjamin Harris was a London printer who came to America because of his difficulties in the mother country. He was a bookseller at first, but later entered the printing business also, and his various changes of location and partnership are shown in the almanacs bearing his imprint from 1687 until his return to London in 1696. He was a skilled printer, a brilliant writer and versifier, and left with us the "New England Primer" and the "Holy Bible in Verse" as his contributions to the literature of our children. The Almanac for 1692 was printed in red and black, the first of this printing in the colonies, although it was the usual method employed for these books in England. There are two varieties of this almanac, the first issue, of which two perfect copies are known, and a second impression, the only known copy of which belongs to Mr. Alfred D. Foster. This impression was not printed with red and black ink, the earlier attempt having been unsuccessful, and had a few verbal changes in its pages, but it was not reset as a whole. In the first impression two pages contain verses, one of which is signed H. B., the other being unsigned. In Mr. Foster's copy, the second impression, the verses of both pages are signed, but the letters are B. H. in place of H. B. These facts seem to me to strengthen the belief in Benjamin Harris as the compiler of this almanac of 1692. The identity of the initials in the remainder of these almanacs has been preserved in the copies originally belonging to Samuel Sewall, whose knowledge of the author was recorded on the title-pages in his own handwriting.

The second period brings us to the great Almanac makers, of whom Tulley has been named the first, men whose lives were devoted to this branch of work, and whose productions covered many years. From three years after the death of this John Tulley to the present time, for example, four men have given us an unbroken series of almanacs: Nathaniel Whittemore's extended from 1705 to 1740; Nathaniel Ames's from 1726 to 1776; Nathaniel Low's from 1762 to 1827, and Robert B. Thomas's from 1793 to our own day.

There were ten printers before 1700, and in the year 1776 thirty-seven had been added to this list. This increase in numbers led to complications in the production of the almanacs, and for a time the three signatures of these books were printed by different firms, the names of all appearing on the title page. The publishers also increased in equal ratio, and about seventy names are recorded in the list up to the same year, 1776. Here, too, difficulties arose, sometimes quieted by the addition of a long list of names to the imprint, sometimes leading to opposition and unfair dealing. The value of this little book as a source of revenue is easily understood when we know that 50,000 copies of Ames's Almanac were sold each year. This fact explains the desire of all to share in the profit, and accounts for the appearance of irregular methods of attaining that end. The day of unauthorized reprints and pirated editions was opened by the publication of a spurious Bowen's Almanac for 1725 by James Franklin, two years before he went to Newport, where in 1728 he printed Poor Robin, the first almanac in Rhode Island.

But the competition thus aroused, both by this special class of writers and by the greed and emergencies of the trade, resulted in special care on the part of all to present a book which should appeal by the interest and appropriateness of its contents to that public for whom it was intended.

We find, therefore, among the changes made to that end, a special column called Sun fast and slow, to enable

clocks and watches, which had now become more common, to be daily regulated at noon. Columns devoted to the positions and declinations of sun and moon were also added, which were used for weather prediction, an accurate method for employing these having been developed by the astronomer Herschel. These were not the predictions which we are accustomed to associate with the almanac of later times, but were definite efforts to systematize the knowledge of weather phenomena for the benefit of the people. Mr. Barrett Wendell says that of 230 books printed between 1700 and 1776, 37 only were religious, a considerable decrease in proportion as compared with the previous century, and the contents of the almanacs of the same period manifested a similar change in character. The pages were now filled with biographical notes, historical extracts, charades and puzzles, together with tables of interest and money values for the man of affairs. As the time approached when the difficulties with the mother country became acute, patriotic appeals and political addresses found a place in these little annuals as well as in newspapers and pamphlets. Later we find the declaration of rights, the articles of peace, the excise duties, and the new condition of affairs was reflected in the titles even—the Federal and Columbian almanacs becoming common names.

There were twenty-seven almanac-makers in this second period, twelve of whom deserve the name "great" and should receive special consideration.

Samuel Clough, of Boston, published an almanac from 1700 until 1708. The Boston News Letter of Nov. 20, 1704, states that Clough's Almanac is calculated according to the *Scientia Stellarum*, the latest tables now extant. This is the first advertisement of an almanac in a New England newspaper. In his issue for 1707 Clough states that he was requested to calculate a yearly almanac by Bartholomew Green, the printer, in consequence of the death of Tulley.

In 1705 Nathaniel Whittemore of Lexington began

his series of almanacs which continued until 1740. He was a physician, a surveyor and an assessor of the town of Lexington. His almanac for 1714 is the first entitled "The Farmer's Almanac," but all of his issues contained important advice on agricultural subjects. Whittemore states in his 1724 number that his almanacs were acceptable as far as New York, a fact which proves their widespread popularity. In 1703 the *N. England Kalendar* by a Lover of Astronomy was published, and the series was continued for four years. The notes "To the Reader" of these three series abuse each other in truly modern fashion, but no clue is furnished even in this way to the authorship of the anonymous books.

In 1707 Daniel Travis issued an almanac printed by B. Green of Boston, and the series was continued until 1723, the last issue. From 1709 until 1716 the imprint was "America" with no printer's name, but in 1717 "Boston: Printed by B. Green" was restored. In Brinley's Catalogue it is stated that during this interval the Travis Almanacs were printed by Bradford in New York, because the cut of the "man of signs" was identical with Bradford's, and because certain typographical peculiarities of Bradford appeared in these issues.

The same cut was used in the Clough almanacs, and the imprint "America" without the printer's name is found in the Whittemore series from 1713 to 1719. So that it does not seem certain that these almanacs did issue from Bradford's press. Almanacs by Travis, however, were printed in New York between 1709 and 1719, and a few in Connecticut appeared during these years, as well as these printed for and probably in Boston. The issue for 1721 states that "on the 23d of Sept. 1720, we obtained two copies of almanacs, one for this present year 1721 and the other for 1722, both written by Daniel Travis." In the almanac of 1722 the printer announces "Having the books, writings, tables &c. of Daniel Travis, the public may after

this be supplied with an almanac according to his method." And the issue for 1723 (the last known) states that this is "In the method of Daniel Travis."

Titan Leeds of Philadelphia sent to Boston in 1714 and 1715 an almanac adapted to that Latitude, but as it was not continued the venture probably proved a failure.

In 1709 two Harvard graduates issued almanacs,—Edward Holyoke, afterwards President of the college, and Thomas Robie, later its Librarian. Both were tutors at the time their series began; that of Holyoke continuing until 1716, and of Robie until 1720. These men represent the academic influence of the past century which we have before noted, and they are the last names taken from that walk in life.

In 1721 Nathan Bowen of Marblehead started a series with the pseudonym "A Native of New England" which was continued until 1737. Bowen belonged to a family of prominence in Marblehead, which held for three generations positions of trust and prominence in that town. His almanacs seem to have been well calculated, contained much information of general interest, and with those of Whittemore held the field against all intruders for many years.

The Almanacs of Nathaniel Ames were issued by father and son for fifty years. Samuel Briggs has given a full account of these men, and of the excellence of their productions. He has, however, called little attention to the difficulties which arose because of their well-deserved popularity. These almanacs were printed for Massachusetts, but were sold in Maine and Vermont, where there were no printing presses until after 1778. In New Hampshire they were reprinted from 1757 to 1771, and in Rhode Island occasionally, but with no regularity, as the field there was covered by a popular rival. In Connecticut, however, the printers of New London and New Haven, and later of Hartford, reproduced them year by year, and often without the authority of Ames. They even sent copies to Boston for

sale as is shown by a special address made by Ames against this infringement of his rights. In addition to these false issues, pirated editions of this almanac were printed in Boston, in 1756, 1757 and 1758, and in 1760 a spurious production was issued purporting to be the second edition, and warning the public against the true copy. After the death of his father in 1765 Nathaniel Ames, the son, inherited similar difficulties, until in despair he wrote in his diary: "Never let me write again to the printers of Boston newspapers for they are all Knaves, Liars and Villains to serve their interests and when they appear most friendly have most of the Devil in their hearts." His difficulties continued until in 1776 he issued his last almanac, and devoted the remainder of his life to his professional and public duties.

A letter is extant from Roger Sherman asking the first Dr. Ames in 1749 about the preparation of an almanac, and the result of the query is evidenced by a series published in Boston, New York and New Haven from 1750 to 1761 by this famous man.

Nathaniel Low of Ipswich published an almanac yearly from 1762 until his death at South Berwick, Maine, in 1806. His work was continued by his son, for twenty years, the labors of the second Low ending in 1827. As the Ames almanacs were printed by Bartholomew Green and his successor, James Draper, so Dr. Nathaniel Low and his son remained faithful to the printing house of the Fleet Brothers until death claimed the last, and Munroe & Francis took up the business in 1807.

In his diary of February, 1768, the younger Ames wrote "Sam Stearns of Bolton wants to know how to make almanacs," and the result was shown in a remarkable series. His almanacs began in 1770, a unique copy of which number is in the library of Harvard College, and continued until 1793, with some omissions and many changes of imprint. Being a loyalist, Stearns fled from Worcester in 1777 to New York, and there published in 1783 the first nautical almanac in America.

Before his departure from Worcester his almanac for 1776, printed by Isaiah Thomas, was reprinted in Queen Street, Boston, for the benefit of the besieged town. After the declaration of peace Stearns returned to Worcester, and was imprisoned there for two years. During this confinement he prepared an almanac for 1787, printed in Boston, in which he wrote: "Eighteen years have revolved since I first published astronomical calculations, and for some years past I have annually calculated for four governments on this continent." Soon after this he published a yearly almanac in Bennington, Vermont, and while in England in 1790 and '91 he sent his calculations for them from London. The last almanac, that for 1793, gave his signature as the Hon. Samuel Stearns, LL. D., honors and dignities having been showered on him during his residence abroad. His portrait shows that he was a man with fine aristocratic features, a keen eye and a vigorous frame.

The reverse of this picture is our next almanac-maker, Daniel George of Haverhill. His first almanac, that of 1776, states that "he is now in the seventeenth year of his age and has been a cripple from his infancy." During his long and successful career this man was so deformed that he was drawn about in a cart by a small boy, being unable to stand or walk. He published in Massachusetts a yearly almanac until 1787, the time of his removal to Portland, Maine, where by industry and ability he became editor of the *Portland Gazette*.

The almanac of 1776 contained the narrative of the battles of Concord and Lexington, written by the Rev. George Gordon. A second edition of this number, much sought by collectors, contained an extra leaf, on which is a cut of General Warren, with appropriate verses humbly inscribed to the American Army. His later almanacs contained nothing of particular interest, but his ability as an astronomer was used by others, for whom he furnished calculations until his death in 1804.

Nehemiah Strong, professor of mathematics and astronomy at Yale College, made the calculations for Watson's Connecticut Register from 1775, and published in Hartford a yearly almanac from 1783 until his death in 1807. He only belongs to Massachusetts because of a few almanacs printed in this state. His first was printed by Anthony Haswell in Worcester in 1781, and the remainder in Springfield until 1794. Strong was a man of character and ability, and may be placed in this class of astronomers to whom the eighteenth century was under obligation.

Robert B. Thomas, the originator of the "Old Farmer's Almanac," needs little introduction. He lived in Boylston and worked there for many years as a book-binder. It is said that his almanac was the outcome of a disagreement with Isaiah Thomas about the purchase of the elder Thomas's Almanacs. It is well known, at least, that he went to Boston in 1791 and studied under Osgood Carlton, a teacher of mathematics and astronomy, whose excellent series of almanacs was published from 1790 to 1797. The reception of the Robert B. Thomas Almanac was so successful that our own Thomas Almanac in 1798 was changed to that of Isaiah Thomas, in order to give this a more distinctive title.

The Farmer's Almanac—for it did not adopt the name Old Farmer's for fifty years—has the distinction of being one of the oldest almanacs now in existence in America, the Webster's Almanac of Albany, begun in 1787, being its predecessor by six years.

Many other almanacs, single or in a short series, were issued during this second period, and perhaps equally deserving of consideration. Several series were published by the printer under his own name, like Russell's American Almanac and Hall's Essex Almanac, but none had the reputation attained by Isaiah Thomas. He printed in Boston the Massachusetts Calendar for 1772 and 1774 and a Sheet Almanac each year in addition. In 1775 Thomas's New England Almanac was issued, it being the first to bear his name.

In 1779 he began in Worcester the series which continued without a break until the Trumbull issue for 1821. Letters to Isaiah Thomas, in the possession of The American Antiquarian Society, prove that the calculations for these Almanacs, from 1775 to 1786, were made by Benjamin West, who signed himself Philomathes. The issues from 1787 to 1790 were calculated by Samuel Stearns, and those from 1791 to 1794 by Daniel George. After that year the calculations bear the marks of West, but no definite proof can be found to confirm this belief.

In 1767 Mein & Fleeming published the Massachusetts Register, the first printed in British America. A yearly issue was produced in Boston with changing imprint until 1776. After an intermission on account of the war, Fleet's Register replaced it in 1779, and continued without a break until 1800. In 1801 the Massachusetts Register followed the Fleet issue, and continued under this title until after 1850.

Among the Almanacs issued under a pseudonym there are two of special importance—those of Isaac Bickerstaff and Abraham Weatherwise.

It was the genius of Benjamin West which revived in America the name, Isaac Bickerstaff, originated in 1707 by Dean Swift in his efforts to improve the character of English almanacs. Benjamin West, of Providence, became interested in astronomy when a boy, through the library of Bishop Berkeley, and continued that interest through his long and busy life. In consequence of his labors in this field, he became a member of the American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and received the degree of A. M. from Harvard in 1770, and that of LL. D. from Brown in 1792. He began a series of almanacs in Providence in 1763, published one in 1767 and 1769 under his own name in Boston and started the Bickerstaff series in 1768, in the same town.

The special importance of these almanacs, in addition to the accuracy of their calculations, lies in the fact

that they were the first to be illustrated in Massachusetts. John Foster had drawn elaborate diagrams and the "man of signs" had appeared in many almanacs, but no further attempt had been made in this state to attract the public to these books by the use of other illustrations. The first number was so popular that Ames noted in his diary the need of similar attractions in order to retain his position in the public good will. There followed in the two succeeding years the much sought after Edes & Gill almanacs with cuts,—that for 1769 having a wood-cut frontispiece and that for 1770 having a folding copperplate frontispiece, both of which were engraved and signed by Paul Revere. Each number of the Bickerstaff almanac contained at least two full page cuts, as well as smaller ones in the text, and this plan was carried on until the war broke out. Even before this date, however, West was disturbed by imitators, for we read in Isaiah Thomas's almanac for 1784 that he (West) was the original Bickerstaff, and had ceased to publish his annuals in 1779 because of those persons who had brought the name into disrepute. West, however, calculated for Russell's American Almanacs, and when the Bickerstaffs were renewed in 1783 by Russell, West revived his interest in them, and continued to furnish the astronomical data for all those bearing the imprint of Ezekiel Russell until the death of the latter in 1793. The name Bickerstaff was continued irregularly from that year until 1807, and then ceased to be used in Massachusetts.

Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for 1781 was the first number of the other series with a pseudonym, and remarkable for its illustrations. Christopher Saur had started his German almanac for 1739 with an illustrated type-metal title-page, which was the first in the colonies. Father Abraham's Almanac for 1759 by Abraham Weatherwise in Philadelphia, the first to bear this name, also used a cut on the title-page, and several smaller ones in the text;

but it was reserved for the Boston Weatherwise series to excel all others in the quality of these cuts.

The first number contained a folding copperplate frontispiece, and among several smaller illustrations a woodcut of Washington ascribed to Paul Revere. The succeeding numbers for several years continued the standard thus raised, until in 1786 the same spirit of competition caused three other printers to adopt this title, and from that year until the last issue in 1804 the almanacs became less interesting.

The number for 1785 contained as a frontispiece the cut of a burning balloon, with three men falling to the ground, and appropriate verses recorded their fate. When we recall that the first experiments of Montgolfier were made only one year before the printing of this almanac, we recognize that the news of that day traveled with considerable rapidity, and that our ancestors were not slow to manifest their interest in the progress of events. It may not be out of place to recall the fact that David Rittenhouse, the astronomer, of Philadelphia, with his friend, Mr. Hopkins, were experimenting in that city with hydrogen balloons, in the same year that Montgolfier was solving the problem in France. A Balloon Almanac was published in Philadelphia in 1786, 1787 and 1789, and in 1803 and 1805 Dickson's Balloon Almanac was issued in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Father Abraham's Almanac for 1759, the first Weatherwise almanac, was printed by William Dunlap in Philadelphia, and Dunlap issued the same year this almanac with imprint, "By W. Dunlap for G. Noel of New York," and still another with imprint, "By W. Dunlap for Daniel Henchman, Bookseller in Boston."

These issues were evidently attempts on the part of Dunlap to extend his business into these other cities. There is in our collection "Father Abraham's Almanac for 1762," on the title-page of which is printed "fitted for the longitude of Boston." The venture was evidently unsuccessful, as there are no further copies found with references to eastern cities, except a single

Weatherwise of 1769, Providence, Rhode Island, until the series was issued in Boston.

The originator of this Boston series is unknown, and the name of the astronomer who supplied the calculations is equally obscure, but unfortunate as this is, it is a source of greater regret that a spirit of greed should have destroyed the artistic taste which was shown in the first numbers, and which caused these early issues to excel all previous almanacs.

In the nineteenth century, our third period, there are still more noticeable changes in the contents of this book. The improvement in the astronomical data is illustrated by the *American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge*, which began in 1830 and continued until after 1850. This series, originated by Jared Sparks, was copied from the *British Almanac* which started in 1828 as a protest against the degenerate almanacs in England that were still filled with astrological predictions of the most puerile character.

Three men are worthy of note in the early part of the century. John Howe of Greenfield published an almanac from 1804 to 1826, the place of printing being changed in 1819 to Enfield.

Thomas G. Fessenden, the editor of "*The New England Farmer*," produced the "*New England Farmer's Almanac*" from 1828 to 1836, the number for 1835 not being issued.

Thomas Spofford issued his first almanac in Haverhill in 1817. That for 1818 is unknown to me, but the issue for 1819 was printed in Boston, while those from 1820 to 1824 have the imprint, Exeter, N. H. From the year 1825 they were published in Boston until 1835, when the office was removed to New York. The Boston issues were entitled "*The Yankee*," while those for New York were called "*The Farmer's*" or "*The United States Farmer's Almanac*."

Thomas Spofford surpassed all his contemporaries in the extent and accuracy of his calculations, and in the variety of the literary entertainment offered. He

published an *Astronomy* in New York, and the popularity of his almanacs is shown by a statement in the number for 1828 that "75,000 copies of the almanac for this year have been issued for the various States."

In 1652 the first humorous almanac was published in England, with the title "Poor Robin." This was the forerunner of many in the eighteenth century in America with a similar name, the "Poor Richard" by Franklin being the most famous. In this third period the "American Comic Almanac" for 1831 in Boston was the first comic issue, and the series was continued until 1846, the name being changed in 1839 to the "Old American Comic Almanac." More than thirty varieties of comic almanacs were issued in Massachusetts between 1830 and 1860, with varying names and imprints. In the "American Comic Almanac" for 1841, Mr. S. N. Dickinson, the printer, and later a publisher of many almanacs, wrote "Ten years ago the first comic almanac was printed, and in two years many similar were started. A few years later (1833) I started the "Crockett Almanac" and next year Crockett almanacs were published in various parts of the country." This statement explains the various imprints of the Crockett issues, and proves also that the same methods of rivalry which prevailed in the previous century were continued during this period.

In 1809 the "Poor Clergyman's Almanac" was started by a minister in order to add to his slender income. From this number two series resulted, "The Clergyman's" and "The Clergyman's Minor" Almanac, the former continuing until 1821; the latter ending in 1819.

In 1821 the *Christian Almanac* was first issued, and its publication continued in Massachusetts until 1840, at which time the office was transferred to New York. This series, published under the auspices of the New England Tract Society, had its rise in that great movement originating in England as the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804. In America it extended largely

through the active exertions of that noble man, Samuel J. Mills, under whose influence the movement spread until in the year 1821, the time of the first issue of this almanac, there were 228 branch societies in this country.

This is the first of the nation-wide movements which were recorded in our almanacs. It is said that no book is published until the information contained in it is at least ten years old, and the same is true of the almanacs. They did not precede these movements, but followed soon after they had become established, the object being to spread the knowledge of them still more widely.

In 1826 William Morgan, after threatening to expose masonic secrets, disappeared in a cloud of mystery. So much excitement followed that the strong anti-masonic sentiment thus aroused became wide-spread, and finally manifested itself in the national life by the nomination of William Wirt as president in 1832. An anti-masonic almanac appeared in 1828, and was continued for eight years, being issued in Massachusetts and the state of New York simultaneously. Before 1820 the anti-slavery movement had begun to take firm hold of the public mind, and Benjamin Lundy of New Jersey in 1829 sought the aid of William Lloyd Garrison to assist in editing his paper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. In 1836 we find the first issue of the *American Anti-Slavery Almanac*, which was transferred to New York in 1839, and continued for many years from that centre.

The great wave of public sentiment towards overcoming the evils of intemperance was reflected in the *Temperance Almanac* of 1836 issued at first by the *Massachusetts Temperance Union*, and after 1840 in New York by the *National Society*.

It is of interest to recall the fact that so many of these great movements were fostered in Massachusetts, and that even the *Almanacs* published to extend their influence were started in Boston. In the political field the *Democrat's Almanac* for 1839, the *Log Cabin Almanac* for 1841, the *Free Soil* for 1849, and the *Know Nothing*

for 1855 are some of the names which recall the inspirations of the past embalmed in these annuals.

We have followed with some care the development of the Massachusetts almanac; we have seen it reflect in its earlier years the deep religious feelings which characterized the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay; we have noted it transformed later into the practical and attractive calendar which was suited to an earnest and busy people who inhabited the growing and prosperous provinces of the eighteenth century, and we have found still later the reflection in its pages of the large movements towards the better living of a free and independent people. The same method could be applied to the almanacs of Pennsylvania and New York with a resulting revelation of the various problems and crises which characterized the history of each of those provinces.

It would seem, from this brief review even, that the almanac does reflect the various changes of the changing years, and that this book deserves a higher place than has been accorded to it in the past.

Turning again to the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, which numbers over four thousand, the list of Massachusetts almanacs gives 68 titles before 1700, of which number we have 43 or 60 per cent. 479 were published to the year 1800, and we have of these 367 or 75 per cent., while 513 are recorded to 1850, of which we have 477, or about 90 per cent.

Of the remaining New England states, our collection contains about 40 per cent. before 1800, and 80 per cent. to 1850, and the proportion of the almanacs issued in Pennsylvania and New York which belong to us is about the same. These figures underestimate rather than overestimate the size of our collection, and must be approximate only, since almanacs are being added whenever occasion offers. They are presented, however, as has been this brief account of some of the almanacs printed in Massachusetts, with the hope that the collection will assume new importance as having real value and large potential usefulness.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST
OF MASSACHUSETTS ALMANACS
1639-1850.

A. A. S. = American Antiquarian Society.
C. H. S. = Connecticut Historical Society.
E. = Essex Institute.
H. C. = Harvard College.
L. = Lancaster Town Library.
L. C. = Library of Congress.

M. H. S. = Massachusetts Historical Society.
N. Y. P. L. = New York Public Library.
R. I. H. S. = Rhode Island Historical Society.
W. = Watkinson Library of Hartford.

Almanacs before 1700, of which one copy is now known, are marked *.
All other almanacs have one location only noted for reference.

- 1639 [An Almanack for 1639. By William Pierce. Cambridge: Stephen Day.]

The first book printed in British America. No copy known.
Isaiah Thomas states that this issue and that of 1640 began with the month of Mareh. *Ms. catalogue.*

- 1640 No copy known.

I. Thomas states that an almanac was printed at the Cambridge press each year.

- 1641 No copy known.

- 1642 No copy known.

- 1643 No copy known.

- 1644 No copy known.

- 1645 No copy known.

- 1646 [An Almanack for 1646. By Samuel Danforth. Cambridge: Stephen Day.]

8 leaves.

H. E. HUNTINGTON. *

The earliest extant almanac, but the only copy lacks title and two other leaves.

- 1647 MDCXLVII. An Almanack for 1647. By Samuel Danforth. Cambridge Matthew Day.

8 ll.

H. E. HUNTINGTON. *

The only known book with the imprint of Matthew Day.

- 1648 MDCXLVIII. An Almanack for 1648. By Samuel Danforth. Cambridge. [Matthew Day.]

8 ll.

H. E. HUNTINGTON. *

- 1649 MDCXLIX. An Almanack for 1649. By Samuel Danforth. Cambridge: [Samuel Green.]

8 ll.

N. Y. P. L. *

The first book printed by Samuel Green.

- 1650 MDCL. An Almanack for 1650. [By Urian Oakes.]
Cambridge. [Samuel Green.]
8 ll. H. E. HUNTINGTON. *
- 1651 No copy known.
- 1652 No copy known.
- 1653 No copy known.
- 1654 No copy known.
- 1655 No copy known.
- 1656 MDCLVI. An Almanack for 1656. By T. S. [Thomas Shepard?] Cambridg Samuel Green.
8 ll. A.A.S. *
- 1657 An Almanack for 1657. By S. B. [Samuel Bradstreet?] Cambridge. Samuel Green.
8 ll. A.A.S. *
- 1658 No copy known.
- 1659 An Almanack of The Coelestial Motions for 1659.
By Zech: Brigden. Cambridg: Samuel Green.
8 ll. L.C. *
- 1660 MDCLX. An Almanack for 1660. By S. C. [Samuel Cheever.] Cambridg: Samuel Green.
8 ll. L.C. *
- 1661 MDCLXI. An Almanack for 1661. By S. C. [Samuel Cheever.] Cambridg: S. G. and M. J.
8 ll. LIBRARY OF G. F. HOAR. *
- 1662 An Almanack for 1662. By Nathaniel Chauncy. Cambridge Samuel Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1663 MDCLXIII. An Almanack of The Coelestial Motions for 1663. By Israel Chauncy. Cambridge: S. Green and M. Johnson.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1664 MDCLXIV. An Almanack of The Coelestial Motions for 1664. By Israel Chauncy. Cambridge: S. Green and M. Johnson.
8 ll. A.A.S. *
- 1665 MDCLXV. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for 1665. By Alex. Nowell. Cambridge Samuel Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1666 1666. An Almanack or Astronomical Calculations Of the most remarkable Celestial Revolutions for 1666.

- By Josiah Flint. Cambridge: [Samuel Green.]
8 ll. A.A.S. *
- 1667 1667. An Almanack for 1667. By Samuel Bracken-
bury. Cambridge Samuel Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1668 MDCLXVIII. An Almanack of The Coelestial Motions
for 1668. By Joseph Dudley. Cambridge: Samuel
Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1669 1669. An Almanack of Coelestiall Motions for 1669.
By J. B. [Joseph Browne.] Cambridge: S. G. and
M. J.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1670 1670. An Almanack of Coelestiall Motions for 1670.
By J. R. [John Richardson.] Cambridge: S. G. and
M. J.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1671 1671. An Almanack of Coelestiall Motions for 1671.
by D. R. [Daniel Russell.] Cambridge: S. G. and
M. J.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1672 An Ephemeris of the Coelestial Motions for 1672. By
Jeremiah Shepard. Cambridge: Samuel Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1673 1673. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for the year
1673. By N. H. [Nehemiah Hobart.] Cambridge:
Samuel Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1674 1674. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for 1674.
By J. S. [John Sherman.] Cambridge: Samuel Green.
8 ll. M.H.S.
- 1675 1675. An Almanack of Coelestial motions for 1675.
By J. Foster. Cambridge Samuel Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1676 1676. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for 1676.
By J. F. [John Foster.] Boston, John Foster.
16 ll. W. *
- The first imprint of the first Boston printer.
- 1676 1676. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions of the Sun
and Planets for 1676. By J. S. [John Sherman.]
Cambridge S. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S

- 1677 No Almanack by John Foster for this year has been found.
- 1677 1677. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions of the Sun and Planets for 1677. By J. S. [John Sherman.] Cambridge S. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1678 1678. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions of the Sun and Planets for 1678. By T. B. [Thomas Brattle.] Cambr: S. Green & S. Green.
8 ll. W. *
- 1678 1678. An Almanack of Coelestial motions for 1678. By J. F. [John Foster] [Boston:] J. Foster, for John Usher of Boston.
16 ll. A.A.S.
- 1679 An Almanack or Register of Coelestial Configurations &c. for 1679. By J. D. [John Danforth.] Cambridge Samuel Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1679 MDCLXXIX. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for 1679. By J. F. [John Foster.] Boston: J. Foster, and sold by Henry Phillips.
8 ll. W. *
- 1680 MDCLXXX. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for 1680. [By John Foster.] [Boston: John Foster.] Printed for, and sold by Henry Phillips.
8 ll. A.A.S.
Another impression. "Printed for John Usher of Boston."
M.H.S. *
- 1681 MDCLXXXI. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for 1681. By John Foster. Boston; J. F. [John Foster.]
12 ll. A.A.S.
Another impression. "Printed by J. F. for Samuel Phillips."
12 ll. M.H.S.
- 1682 An Ephemeris of Coelestial Motions [etc.] for 1682. By W. Brattle. Cambridge Samuel Green.
12 ll. A.A.S.
"The last half sheet printed in Boston." *Samuel Sewall.*
- 1683 MDCLXXXIII. The Boston Ephemeris. An Almanack for MDCLXXXIII. [By Cotton Mather.] Boston in New-England S. G. for S. S.
12 ll. A.A.S.

- 1684 1684. The Boston Ephemeris. An Almanack for MDCLXXXIV. By Benjamin Gillam. Boston in New-England, Samuel Green for Samuel Phillips.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1684 MDCLXXXIV. Cambridge Ephemeris; An Almanack of Coelestial Motions etc. for 1684. By N. Russell. Cambridge: Samuel Green.
8 ll. M.H.S. *
- 1685 1685. The Boston Ephemeris. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions [etc.] for 1685. [By Nathaniel Mather.] Boston in New-England: Samuel Green.
8 ll. M.H.S.
- 1685 MDCLXXXV. Cambridge Ephemeris An Almanack of The Coelestial Motions for 1685. By W. Williams. Cambridge, Samuel Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- The same. Second edition. "Samuel Green for Samuel Phillips." From the Brinley collection.
- 1686 1686. The Boston Ephemeris. An Almanack Of Coelestial Motions for MDCLXXXVI. By Nathaniel Mather. New-England, Boston, Samuel Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1686 The New-England Almanack for 1686. By S. D. [Samuel Danforth.] Cambridge Samuel Green, Sen.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- A second impression with a few verbal changes.
M.H.S. *
- 1687 MDCLXXXVII. Cambridge Ephemeris. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for 1687. [By W. Williams?] Cambridge. S. G. Colledg. Printer.
8 ll. M.H.S. *
- 1687 Tulley, 1687. An Almanack for MDCLXXXVII. By John Tulley. Boston, S. Green for Benjamin Harris.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- First issue of Tulley's series.
- 1688 Tulley, 1688. An Almanack for MDCLXXXVIII. By John Tulley. Boston, Samuel Green.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- "No Cambridge Almanack this year." *Samuel Sewall.*
- 1689 Tulley, 1689. An Almanack for MDCLXXXIX. By John Tulley. Boston, Samuel Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1690 Harvard's Ephemeris, Or Almanack for 1690. By H. Newman. Cambridge. Samuel Green.
8 ll. M.H.S.
- 1690 Tulley, 1690. An Almanack for MDCXC. By John Tulley. Boston Samuel Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1691 News from the Stars. An Almanack for 1691. By Henry Newman. R. Pierce for Benjamin Harris in Boston.
13 ll. M.H.S. *
- 1691 Tulley, 1691. An Almanack for MDCXCI. By John Tulley. Cambridge. Samuel Green, and B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1692 Boston Almanack for 1672. By H. B. [Benjamin Harris?] Boston, Benjamin Harris, and John Allen.
10 ll. M.H.S.
Title and other pages printed in red and black.
The Second Impression, printed in black with important changes.
A. D. FOSTER. *
- 1692 Tulley, 1692. An Almanack for MDCXCII. By John Tulley. Boston: Samuel Green, & Bartholemew Green, for Samuel Phillips.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1693 Tulley, 1693. An Almanack for MDCXCIII. By John Tulley. Boston Benjamin Harris.
13 ll. A.A.S.
The same. "Benjamin Harris for Samuel Phillips."
M.H.S.
- 1694 1694. An Almanack Of the Coelestial Motions for 1694. [By William Brattle.] Boston, B. Green, for Samuel Phillips.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1694 Tulley, 1694. An Almanack for MDCXCIII. By John Tulley. Boston, Benjamin Harris.
12 ll. A. D. FOSTER. *
- 1695 The New England Almanack for 1695. By C. [Christian] Lodowick. Boston, B. Green, for S. Phillips.
8 ll. A.A.S. *

- 1695 Tulley, 1695. An Almanack for MDCXCV. By John Tulley. Boston, For John Usher, by Benjamin Harris.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1696 Tulley, 1696. An Almanack for MDCXCVI. By John Tulley. Boston, N. E. Bartholemew Green, and John Allen.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1697 Tulley, 1697. An Almanack for MDCXCVII. By John Tulley. Boston, N. E. Bartholemew Green, and John Allen.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1698 Tulley, 1698. An Almanack for MDCXCVIII. By John Tulley. Boston, N. E. Bartholemew Green, and John Allen.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1699 Tulley, 1699. An Almanack for MDCXCIX. By John Tulley. Boston, N. E. Bartholemew Green, and John Allen.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1700 Clough, 1700. The New-England Almanack for MDCC. By Samuel Clough. Boston, Bartholemew Green & John Allen.
8 ll. L.C.
- 1700 Tulley, 1700. An Almanack for 1700. By John Tulley. Boston, Bartholemew Green, & John Allen.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1701 Clough, 1701. The New-England Almanack for MDCCI. By Samuel Clough. Boston, B. Green, and J. Allen, for Samuel Phillips.
8 ll. L.C.
- 1701 Tulley, 1701. An Almanack for 1701. By John Tulley. Boston: B. Green, & J. Allen.
8 ll. L.C.
- 1702 Clough, 1702. The New-England, Almanack for MDCCII. By Samuel Clough.
Boston: B. Green, and J. Allen, for Benj. Eliot.
16 ll. A.A.S.
- The same. "B. Green, and, J. Allen for N. Buttolph."
16 ll. L.C.

- 1702 Tulley's Farewell 1702, An Almanack for 1702. By John Tulley. Boston: Bartholemew Green, and John Allen.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1703 Clough, 1703. The New-England, Almanack for MDCCIII. By Samuel Clough. Boston: B. Green, and J. Allen.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1703 The N. England Kalendar, 1703. Or an Almanack for 1703. By a Lover of Astronomy. Boston: B. Green, & J. Allen.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1704 Clough, 1704. The New-England Almanack for 1704. By Samuel Clough. Boston: B. Green, & J. Allen, for Benj. Eliot, & Nich. Boone.
12 ll. M.H.S.
- 1704 The N. England Kalendar, 1704. Or an Almanack for 1704. By a Lover of Astronomy. Boston, B. Green, and J. Allen, for Samuel Phillips.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1705 Clough, 1705. Kalendarium Nov-Anglicanum, or an Almanack for 1705. By Samuel Clough. Boston: B. Green, for Benj. Eliot.
12 ll. L.C.
- 1705 The N. England Kalendar, 1705. Or an Almanack for 1705. By a Lover of Astronomy. Boston: B. Green, for Nicholas Buttolph.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1705 1705. An Almanack for MDCCV. By N.W. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- First issue of the Whittemore series.
- 1706 Clough, 1706. Kalendarium Nov-Anglicanum, or an Almanack for 1706. By Samuel Clough. Boston: Bartho. Green, for Benj. Eliot, and Nich. Boone.
16 ll. A.A.S.
- 1706 The N. England Kalendar, 1706. Or an Almanack for 1706. By a Lover of Astronomy. Boston: B. Green, for Samuel Phillips.
8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1706 1706. An Almanack for MDCCVI. By N. W. Boston:
B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1707 Clough, 1707. Kalendarium Nov-Anglicanum, or an
Almanack for 1707. By Samuel Clough. Boston:
B. Green, for Benj. Eliot, and Nich. Boone.
10 ll. A.A.S.
- 1707 MDCCVII. An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions for
1707. By Daniel Travis. Boston: Bartholemew
Green, for Nicholas Buttolph.
12 ll. B.P.L.
- 1707 1707. An Almanack for 1707. By N. W. Boston: B.
Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1708 Clough's Farewell. 1708. An Almanack for 1708.
By Samuel Clough. Before his Death. Boston:
Bartholemew Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1708 An Almanack for 1708. By N. W. Boston.
MORRISON'S LIST.
- 1709 MDCCIX. An Ephemeris of the Coelestial Motions for
1709. By Edward Holyoke, M. A. Boston: Bar-
tholemew Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
The first issue.
- 1709 An Ephemeris of the Coelestial Motions for 1709. By
Thomas Robie. Boston: B. Green.
The first issue [imperfect copy seen]. L.C.
- 1709 MDCCIX. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for 1709.
By Daniel Travis. America Printed and sold by
N. Boone.
8 ll. B.P.L.
- 1710 An Ephemeris of the Coelestial Motions for 1710. By
Edward Holyoke. Boston: B. Green.
MORRISON'S LIST.
- 1710 1710. An Ephemeris of the Coelestial Motions for
MDCCX. By Thomas Robie A. B. Boston: Barthole-
mew Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1710 MDCCX. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for 1710.
By Daniel Travis, America, Printed in the year 1710.
8 ll. B.P.L.

- 1711 An Ephemeris of the Coelestial Motions for 1711. By Edward Holyoke, Boston: B. Green.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1711 An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions for 1711. By Thomas Robie. Boston: B. Green.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1711 MDCCXI. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for 1711. By Daniel Travis. America: Printed. Sold by N. Boone.

8 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1712 MDCCXII. An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions for 1712. By Edward Holyoke M. A. Boston in N. E. B. Green, for Benjamin Marston Merchant in Salem, for the use of the Island of Barbadoes.

8 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1712 MDCCXII. An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions for 1712. By Thomas Robie M. A. Boston: Bartholemew Green.

8 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1712 MDCCXII. An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions for 1712. By Daniel Travis. America: Printed: Sold by N. Boone.

8 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1713 MDCCXIII. An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions for 1713. By Edward Holyoke, M. A. Boston: B. Green.

8 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1713 An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions for 1713. By Thomas Robie. Boston: B. Green.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1713 MDCCXIII. An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions for 1713. By Daniel Travis. America Printed: Sold in Boston.

Imperfect copy.

L.C.

- 1713 Farmer's Almanac by N. W. Boston: 1713.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1713 1713. An Almanack for 1713. By a Lover of Mathematics. America: Printed for 1713.

8 ll.

B.P.L.

This is probably by N. Whittemore.

- 1714 Leeds, 1714. The American Almanack for 1714. By Titan Leeds. Printed for and sold by N. Boone in Boston.
12 ll. B.P.L.
- 1714 MDCCXIV. An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions for 1714. By Thomas Robie M. A. Boston: Bartholemew Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1714 The Farmer's Almanack [Corrected and Amended,] for 1714. By N. W. A Lover of the Truth. America Printed: Sold at Boston in New-England.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1714 A second impression "Printed and sold at the Bookseller's Shops Boston-in N. E."
L.C.
- 1714 Another impression with imprint. "Printed for the Author, and sold by N. Boone." [Corrected and Amended] not in title.
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1715 MDCCXV. The Young American's Ephemeris for 1715. By Increase Gatchell. Boston: Printed for George Brownell.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1715 MDCCXV. An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions for 1715. By Edward Holyoke, A. M. Boston: Bartholemew Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1715 Leeds, 1715. The American Almanack for 1715. By Titan Leeds.
Imperfect title-page. A.A.S.
- 1715 MDCCXV. The Loyal American's Almanack for 1715. By a New Comer into America. Printed in 1715.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1715 MDCCXV. An Almanack for 1715. By Thomas Robie. Boston: T. Fleet and T. Crump.
8 ll. MORRISON'S LIST.
- 1715 MDCCXV. An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions for 1715. By Daniel Travis. America, Printed.
8 ll. A.A.S.
Imperfect title-page.

- 1715 MDCCXV. An Almanack for 1715. By N. W. A
 Lover of Physick and Astronomy. America: Printed
 for the Author.
 8 ll. A.A.S.
 Another impression with variation in imprint. L.C.
- 1716 MDCCXVI. An Almanack for 1716. By Edward Hol-
 yoke, A. M. Boston: B. Green. MORRISON'S LIST.
- 1716 MDCCXVI. An Almanack for 1716. By Thomas Robie,
 M. A. Boston: T. Fleet and T. Crump.
 8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1716 MDCCXVI. An Almanack for 1716. America: Printed
 for the Author.
 8 ll. L.C.
 Verse on title page signed N. W.
- 1716 The Farmer's Almanack for 1716. By N. W. Boston:
 T. Fleet. MORRISON'S LIST.
- 1717 MDCCXVII. An Almanack for 1717. By Thomas Robie,
 M. A. Boston: T. Fleet and T. Crump.
 8 ll. H.C.
- 1717 MDCCXVII. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for
 1717. By Daniel Travis. Boston: B. Green.
 8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1717 MDCCXVII. An Almanack for 1717. America: Printed
 for the Author.
 8 ll. A.A.S.
 Lines signed "N. W."
- 1718 MDCCXVIII. An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions for
 1718. By Thomas Paine, B. A. Boston: T. Crump.
 8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1718 MDCCXVIII. An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions
 for 1718. By Thomas Robie, M. A. Boston: T. Fleet
 and T. Crump.
 8 ll. M.H.S.
- 1718 MDCCXVIII. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for
 1718. By Daniel Travis. Boston: B. Green.
 8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1718 MDCCXVIII. An Almanack for 1718. By N. W. America:
 Printed for the Author.
 8 ll. L.C.

- 1719 MDCCXIX. An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions for
1719. By Thomas Paine, B. A. Boston: T. Fleet.
8 ll. H.C.
- 1719 MDCCXIX. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for 1719.
By Daniel Travis. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1719 MDCCXIX. An Almanack for 1719. By N. Whittemore.
Boston: T. Fleet.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1720 MDCCXX. An Almanack for 1720. By Thomas Fleet.
Boston: T. Fleet.
8 ll. MORRISON'S LIST.
- 1720 MDCCXX. An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions for
1720. By Thomas Robie, M. A. Boston: T. Fleet.
8 ll. H.C.
- 1720 MDCCXX. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for
1720. By Daniel Travis. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1720 MDCCXX. An Almanack for 1720. By N. Whittemore.
Boston: T. Fleet.
8 ll. B.P.L.
- 1721 MDCCXXI. An Almanack of the Coelestial Motions
for 1721. By a Native of New-England [N. Bowen.]
Boston: Printed for N. Boone, & B. Gray, & J. Edwards.
8 ll. A.A.S.
The first issue of Bowen's series.
- 1721 MDCCXXI. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for
1721. By Daniel Travis. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1721 An Almanack for 1721. By N. Whittemore. Boston:
T. Fleet.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1722 MDCCXXII. The New-England Diary, Or, Almanack for
1722. By a Native of New-England. Boston:
Printed for the Author.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1722 MDCCXXII. An Almanack of Coelestial Motions for
1722. By Daniel Travis. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1722 MDCCXXII. An Almanack for 1722. By Nathaniel
Whittemore. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1722 The Farmer's Almanack for 1722. By N. W. Boston:
T. Fleet.
B.P.L.
- 1723 MDCCXXIII. The New-England Diary, or, Almanack for
1723. By a Native of New-England. Boston: B.
Green, for Nathaniel Belknap.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1723 MDCCXXIII. An Almanack for 1723. In the method of
Daniel Travis. Boston: T. Fleet.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1723 An Almanack for 1723. By N. Whittemore. Boston:
T. Fleet.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1724 MDCCXXIV. The New-England Diary, or, Almanack
for 1724. By a Native of New-England. Boston:
B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1724 A Perpetual Almanack of spiritual meditations.
85 ll. MORRISON'S LIST.
- 1724 An Almanack for 1724. By Daniel Travis. Boston.
MORRISON'S LIST.
- 1724 An Almanack for 1724. By Nathaniel Whittemore.
Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1724 Another impression of same almanac with imprint,
"Boston: Printed by J. Allen." Probably a pirated
edition.
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1725 MDCCXXV. The New-England Diary, or Almanack for
1725. By a Native of New England. Boston:
Printed and sold by J. Franklin.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- This was not a true Bowen, but a pirated almanac.
- 1725 A Broadside Almanack for 1725.
Advertised in the above Almanack.
- 1725 MDCCXXV. The New-England Diary, or, Almanack for
1725. By a Native of New-England. Boston: B.
Green.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1725 An Almanack for 1725. By Nathaniel Whittemore.
Printed for, and are to be Sold by the Booksellers
of Boston.
8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1725 The Farmer's Almanack for 1725. By N. W. Boston:
T. Fleet.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1726 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanac for 1726. By
Nathaniel Ames, Jun. Student in Physic and Astron-
omy. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.

First issue of this famous series.

- 1726 MDCCXXVI. The New-England Diary, or, Almanack for
1726. By a Native of New-England. Boston: B.
Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.

Another impression.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1726 An Almanack for 1726. By Nathaniel Whittemore.
Printed for Nicholas Boone, Boston.
8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1726 The Farmer's Almanack for 1726. By N. W. Boston:
T. Fleet.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1727 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1727. By
Nathaniel Ames, Jun. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1727 MDCCXXVII. The New-England Diary, or, Almanack for
1727. By a Native of New-England. Boston: B.
Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1727 A New Almanack for 1727. By Nathaniel Whittemore.
Printed for Nicholas Boone, Boston.
8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1728 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1728. By
Nathaniel Ames, Jun. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1728 MD CCXXVIII. The New-England Diary, or, Almanack
for 1728. By a Native of New-England. Boston:
B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1728 An Almanack for 1728. By Nathaniel Whittemore.
Printed for Nicholas Boone. Boston.
8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1728 The Farmer's Almanack for 1728. By N. W. Boston:
B. Green.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1729 An Astronomical Diary, or an Almanack for 1729. By Nathaniel Ames, Jun. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1729 MDCCXXIX. The New-England Diary, or, Almanack for 1729. By a Native of New England. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1729 An Almanack or Diary, for 1729. By Nathaniel Whittemore. Boston, Printed for the Booksellers.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1730 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1730. By Nathaniel Ames, Jun. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1730 MDCCXXX. An Almanack for 1730. By a Native of New-England. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1730 The Farmer's Almanack for 1730. By N. W. Boston.
MORRISON'S LIST.
- 1731 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1731. By Nathaniel Ames, Jun. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1731 MDCCXXXI. The New-England Diary, or, Almanack for 1731. By a Native of New-England. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. B.P.L.
- 1732 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1732. By Nathaniel Ames, Jun. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1732 MDCCXXXII. The New-England Diary, or, Almanack for 1732. By a Native of New-England. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1732 An Almanack for 1732. By Nathaniel Whittemore. Boston: B. Green.
MORRISON'S LIST.
- 1733 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1733. By Nathaniel Ames, Jun. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1733 MDCCXXXIII. The New-England Diary, or, Almanack for 1733. By a Native of New-England. Boston: B. Green.
8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1733 An Almanack for 1733. By Nathaniel Whittemore.
Boston: B. Green.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1734 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1734. By
Nathaniel Ames, Jun. Boston: Printed for the Book-
sellers.

8 ll.

A. A. S.

- 1734 MDCCXXXIV. The New-England Diary, or, Almanack
for 1734. By a Native of New-England. Boston in
New-England, Printed for the Booksellers.

8 ll.

A. A. S.

- 1734 An Almanack for 1734. By Nathaniel Whittemore.
Boston.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1735 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1735. By
Nathaniel Ames, Jun. Boston in New-England:
Printed for the Booksellers.

8 ll.

A. A. S.

- 1735 MDCCXXXV. The New-England Diary: or, Almanack for
1735. By a Native of New-England. Boston, in
New-England, T. Fleet.

8 ll.

A. A. S.

- 1735 An Almanack for 1735. By Nathaniel Whittemore.
Boston.

Imperfect copy, lacks title page.

B. P. L.

- 1736 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1736. By
Nathaniel Ames, Jun. Boston, New-England; J.
Draper.

8 ll.

A. A. S.

- 1736 MDCCXXXVI. The New-England Diary, or, Almanack for
1736. By a Native of New-England. Boston, in
New-England, T. Fleet.

8 ll.

A. A. S.

- 1736 An Almanack for 1736. By Nathaniel Whittemore.
Boston.

Imperfect copy, lacks title page.

A. A. S.

- 1737 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1737. By
Nathaniel Ames. Boston, New-England: John
Draper.

8 ll.

A. A. S.

- 1737 MDCCXXXVII. The New-England Diary: or, Almanack for 1737. By a Native of New-England. Boston, in New-England, T. Fleet.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1737 An Almanack for 1737. By Nathaniel Whittemore. Boston:
MORRISON'S LIST.
- 1738 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1738. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston, in New-England: John Draper.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1738 MDCCXXXVIII. The New-England Diary: or, Almanack for 1738. By a Native of New-England. Boston: T. Fleet.
8 ll. MORRISON'S LIST.
- 1738 Whittemore Revived. An Almanack for 1738. By N. Whittemore. Boston: T. Fleet.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1739 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1739. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston in New-England: John Draper.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1739 An Almanack for 1739. By Joseph Stafford. A Lover of the Truth. Boston: T. Fleet.
8 ll. A. D. FOSTER.
- 1739 An Almanack for 1739. By Nathaniel Whittemore. Boston:
8 ll. MORRISON'S LIST.
- 1740 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1740. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston in New-England: John Draper.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1740 An Almanack for 1740. By Joseph Stafford, A Lover of the Truth. Boston: T. Fleet.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1740 Whittemore Continued: being an Almanack for 1740. By N. Whittemore. Boston: T. Fleet.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1741 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1741. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston in New-England: John Draper.
8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1741 An Almanack for 1741. By Nathaniel Whittemore.
Boston:

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1742 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1742.
By Nathaniel Ames. Boston in New-England:
John Draper.

8 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1742 An Almanack for 1742. By Joseph Stafford. Boston:
T. Fleet.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1743 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1743. By
Nathaniel Ames. Boston in New-England: John
Draper.

8 ll.

A A.S.

- 1743 Mercurius Nov-Anglicanus. or an Almanack Anno
Domini 1743. By William Nadir, L. X. Q. Boston:
Rogers and Fowle.

The author was Dr. Wm. Douglass.

A.A.S.

- 1743 An Almanack for 1743. By Joseph Stafford. Boston:
T. Fleet.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1744 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1744. By
Nathaniel Ames. Boston in New-England: John
Draper.

8 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1744 An Almanack for 1744. By Joseph Stafford. Boston:
Green, Bushnell and Allen.

8 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1745 An Astronomical Diary, Or, an Almanack for 1745. By
Nathaniel Ames. Boston in New-England: John
Draper.

8 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1746 An Astronomical Diary, Or, an Almanack for 1746. By
Nathaniel Ames. Boston in New-England: John
Draper.

8 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1747 An Astronomical Diary, Or, an Almanack for 1747. By
Nathaniel Ames. Boston in New-England: John
Draper.

8 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1747 *Mercurius Nov-Anglicanus. or an Almanack for 1747.*
By William Nadir, L. X. Q. Boston: Rogers and Fowle.
The preface shows that this was the second Almanac prepared by him. A.A.S.
- 1748 *An Astronomical Diary, Or, An Almanack for 1748.* By Nathaniel Ames. Boston in New-England: J. Draper.
8 ll. A A.S.
Another variety without last line of prices. A.A.S.
- 1749 *An Astronomical Diary, Or, An Almanack for 1749.* By Nathaniel Ames. Boston in New-England. J. Draper.
8 ll. A.A.S.
Another variety without last line of prices. L.C.
- 1749 Another with imprint, "Boston; Printed for the Booksellers."
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1750 *An Astronomical Diary, or, An Almanack for 1750.* By Nathaniel Ames. Boston, in New-England. J. Draper.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1750 *An Astronomical Diary, or, An Almanack for 1750.* By Roger Sherman. Boston, in New-England: J. Draper.
8 ll. A.A.S.
This was the first year of the Sherman series. He published one in New York this year also.
- 1751 *An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1751.* By Nathaniel Ames. Boston, in New-England: J. Draper.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1751 *An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1751.* By Roger Sherman. Boston, in New-England: J. Draper.
8 ll. H.C
- 1752 *An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1752.* By Nathaniel Ames. Boston, in New-England: John Draper.
8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1752 An Almanack of Almanacks, collected from Poor Job, and others for 1752.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1753 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1753. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston; New-England: J. Draper. 8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1753 An Astronomical Diary: or, an Almanack for 1753. By George Wheten. Boston: D. Fowle. 12 ll. A.A.S.

- 1754 An Astronomical Diary: or an Almanack for 1754. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston, New-England: J. Draper. 8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1754 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1754. By George Wheten. Boston: D. Fowle. 8 ll.

PRIVATE COLLECTION.

- 1755 An Astronomical Diary: or an Almanack for 1755. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston; New-England: J. Draper. 8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1755 An Astronomical Diary: or, an Almanack for 1755. By Roger Sherman. Boston: Daniel Fowle. 8 ll. L.C.

A variation in the imprint.

C.H.S.

- 1755 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1755. By George Wheten. Boston: D. Fowle. Lacks title page. A.A.S.

- 1756 An Astronomical Diary: or, an Almanack for 1756. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston, N. E. J. Draper. 8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1756 The same with imprint, "New England: Printed for the Booksellers."

E. S. PHELPS.

- 1757 An Astronomical Diary: or, an Almanack for 1757. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston; New-England: J. Draper. 8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1757 Briggs notes a pirated edition for 1757.

- 1757 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1757. By George Wheten. Boston: Edes and Gill. 8 ll. R.I H.S.

- 1758 An Astronomical Diary: or, an Almanack for 1758. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston; New-England: J. Draper. 8 ll. A.A.S.

- 1758 The same with imprint, "New-England: Printed for the Booksellers."

The third pirated edition.

E. S. PHELPS

- 1758 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1758. By James Davis. Boston; New-England: Edes and Gill. 8 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1759 Ames's Almanack for 1759. Boston: Draper, Green & Russell, & Fleet.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

A variation of the same with price line at bottom.

Sale catalogue.

- 1759 Eddy's Almanack for 1759. By John Eddy. Boston: Eddy's Almanack for 1760 refers to that of 1759. No copy seen.

- 1759 Poor Joseph, 1759. By Joseph Steward. Benjamin Mecom, Boston.

12 ll.

H.C.

- 1760 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1760. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston; in New-England: John Draper; Richard Draper; Green & Russell; Edes & Gill; Thomas & John Fleet.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

Another issue with a line of prices at bottom of title page.

A.A.S.

- 1760 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1760. By Nathaniel Ames. II Edition. Boston: Printed for and sold by the booksellers.

L.C.

This was a pirated edition and was printed by D. & J. Kneeland.

- 1760 Eddy's Almanack for 1760. By John Eddy. Boston: Edes & Gill.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1760 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1760. By Roger Sherman. Boston: Printed for D. Henchman, [etc.].

12 ll.

A.A.S.

Another issue without the four line note at bottom of title page.

M.H.S.

- 1760 Poor Joseph's Almanack for 1760. By Joseph Steward. Boston:

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1761 Ames 1761. An Astronomical Diary, or an Almanack

for 1761. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston: John Draper; Richard Draper; Green & Russell, & Edes & Gill and Thomas & John Fleet.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1761 Ames 1761. An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1761. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston: D. and J. Kneeland for D. Henchman, [etc., etc.].

12 ll.

E. S. PHELPS.

- 1761 Eddy's Almanack for 1761. An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1761. By John Eddy. Boston: Edes & Gill.

8 ll.

B.P.L.

- 1761 An Almanack for 1761. By Roger Sherman. Boston: New-England: D. and J. Kneeland for D. Henchman, [etc., etc.].

8 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1761 Poor Joseph's Almanack for 1761. By Joseph Steward. Boston.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1762 An Astronomical Diary: Or, Almanack for 1762. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston: John Draper; Richard Draper; Green & Russell; Edes & Gill and Thomas & John Fleet. Sold also by the Booksellers.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1762 Eddy's Almanack for 1762. By John Eddy. Boston: Edes & Gill.

MORRISON'S LIST.

- 1762 An Astronomical Diary: or, Almanack for 1762. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: Printed and Sold by D. & J. Kneeland, opposite to the Prison in Queen St.

12 ll.

E. S. PHELPS.

First known issue of this series and the only known copy

- 1763 An Astronomical Diary: Or, Almanack for 1763. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston: J. Draper; R. Draper; Green & Russell; and Edes & Gill; and T. & J. Fleet. Sold also by the Booksellers. [Price line at bottom.]

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1763 An Astronomical Diary: or, Almanack for 1763. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: D. & J. Kneeland.

12 ll.

B.P.L.

- 1764 An Astronomical Diary: Or, Almanack for 1764. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston: R. and S. Draper; Edes & Gill; and Green & Russell; and T. & S. Fleet. Sold also by the Booksellers.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

A variation with price line.

E. S. PHELPS.

- 1764 An Astronomical Diary: or, Almanack for 1764. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: R. and S. Draper; Edes & Gill; and Green & Russell; and T. & J. Fleet. Sold also by the Booksellers.

12 ll.

B.P.L.

- 1765 An Astronomical Diary: Or, Almanack for 1765. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston: R. and S. Draper; Edes & Gill; and Green & Russell; and T. & J. Fleet. Sold also by the Booksellers.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

Another issue "Sold also by S. Hall at Newport."

L.C.

- 1765 An Astronomical Diary: or, Almanack for 1765. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: D. & J. Kneeland.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

No issue of Low's Almanack for 1766.

- 1766 An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1766. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston: W. McAlpine and J. Fleeming.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

The first by the younger Ames.

- 1766 A second edition. With imprint, "Boston: Printed and sold by the Printers and Booksellers."

A.A.S.

Another variety with price line.

Sale catalogue.

- 1766 Ames's Almanack revived and improved: Or, An Astronomical Diary for 1766. By a late Student at Harvard College. Boston: R. & S. Draper; Edes & Gill; Green & Russell; T. & J. Fleet; S. Hall in Rhode Island. (Also list of Booksellers.)

A.A.S.

A pirated edition because of failure of Ames to agree with the printers.

- 1767 An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1767. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston: William McAlpine.
12 ll. A.A.S.
A second edition.
- E. S. PHELPS.
- 1767 An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1767. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston: Printed and sold by the Printers and Booksellers.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1767 An Astronomical Diary; or Almanack for 1767. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: D. Kneeland; and Kneeland and Adams.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1767 Mein and Fleeming's Massachusetts Register for 1767. Boston: Mein and Fleeming.
30 ll. A.A.S.
The first register published in British America.
- 1767 The New-England Almanack or, Lady's and Gentleman's Diary for 1767. By Benjamin West. Boston: Printed and sold by the Printers and Booksellers.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1768 An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1768. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston: Printed and sold by the Printers and Booksellers.
12 ll. A.A.S.
Another impression varying in contents following the calendar pages.
A.A.S.
- 1768 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1768. Boston: Mein and Fleeming.
22 ll. A.A.S.
The first of the Bickerstaff series which was issued by Benjamin West.
- 1768 An Astronomical Diary; or Almanack for 1768. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: Kneeland and Adams.
12 ll. B.P.L.
- 1768 Mein and Fleeming's Register for New-England and Nova-Scotia for 1768. Boston: Mein and Fleeming.
48 ll. A.A.S.
- 1769 An Astronomical Diary, or, an Almanack for 1769. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston: William McAlpine.
12 ll. A.A.S.

Same. Wm. M'Alpine for Wm. Fowle, Portsmouth.

E. S. PHELPS.

- 1769 An Astronomical Diary, or, Almanack for 1769. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston: Printed and sold by the Printers and Booksellers.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

Another issue with same imprint but a variation in contents.

A.A.S.

- 1769 Another issue. "Printed for & sold by A. Barclay."

B.P.L.

- 1769 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1769. Boston: Mein and Fleeming.

22 ll.

L.C.

A second edition.

A.A.S.

- 1769 Edes & Gill's North-American Almanack for 1769. Boston: Edes & Gill.

21 ll.

A.A.S.

A folding copper plate by Paul Revere.

A second edition was issued.

H.C.

- 1769 The Essex Almanack for 1769. Salem: Samuel Hall.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1769 An Astronomical Diary; or Almanack for 1769. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: Kneeland and Adams.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1769 Mein and Fleeming's Register for New-England and Nova-Scotia for 1769. Boston: Mein and Fleeming.

48 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1769 The New-England Almanack or, Lady's, and Gentleman's Diary for 1769. By Benjamin West. Boston: Mein and Fleeming.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1770 An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1770. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston: Printed and sold by the Printers and Booksellers.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1770 Another issue with imprint: Boston: Wm. McAlpine.

A.A.S.

- 1770 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1770. Boston:
Mein and Fleeming.
16 ll. A.A.S.
- 1770 Edes & Gill's North-American Almanack, and Massa-
chusetts Register for 1770. Boston: Edes & Gill;
and T. & J. Fleet.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- A woodcut frontispiece by Paul Revere.
- 1770 Philo's Essex Almanack for 1770. Salem: Samuel Hall.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1770 An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1770. By
Nathaniel Low. Boston: Kneeland & Adams.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- A variation of above title.
- N.Y.P.L.
- 1770 The North-American's Almanack for 1770. By Samuel
Stearns, A student in Mathematicks. Boston:
Printed for and sold by the Author.
12 ll. H.C.
- The first issue of Stearns' series; the only known copy.
- 1771 An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1771. By
Nathaniel Ames. Boston: William McAlpine.
13 ll. A.A.S.
- 1771 An Astronomical Diary; or Almanack for 1771. By
Nathaniel Ames. Boston: Printed and sold by
the Printers and Booksellers.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1771 The Essex Almanack for 1771. By Philo Freeman.
Salem: Samuel Hall.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1771 An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1771. By
Nathaniel Low. Boston: Kneeland and Adams.
12 ll. L.C.
- 1771 The North-American's Almanack Being, the Gentle-
mens and Ladies Diary for 1771. By Samuel
Stearns. Boston: R. Draper; T. & J. Fleet and Edes
& Gill.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1772 An Astronomical Diary; or Almanack for 1772. By
Nathaniel Ames. Boston: Ezekiel Russell.
12 ll. A.A.S.

- 1772 Another impression without imprint.
A.A.S.
Another impression with variations on title page.
A.A.S.
- 1772 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1772. Boston:
John Fleeming.
A.A.S.
- 1772 Broadside. An Almanack for the year of our LORD,
1772. No imprint.
18 ll. A.A.S.
Copy belonging to the American Antiquarian Society has in ink,
"By I. Thomas."
- 1772 The Essex Almanack for 1772. By Philo Freeman.
Salem: Samuel Hall.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1772 Fleeming's Register for New-England and Nova-Scotia
for 1772. Boston: John Fleeming.
49 ll. A.A.S.
- 1772 An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1772. By
Nathaniel Low. Boston: Kneeland and Adams.
12 ll. A.A.S.
A second edition was printed.
L.C.
- 1772 The North-American's Almanack; Being, the Gentle-
men's and Ladies Diary for 1772. By Samuel
Stearns. Boston: T. & J. Fleet; Edes & Gill; and
R. Draper.
12 ll. L.C.
- 1772 The Massachusetts Calendar, or an Almanack for
1772. By Philomathes. Boston. Isaiah Thomas.
16 ll. A.A.S.
A second edition was printed.
A.A.S.
- 1773 An Astronomical Diary; or, An Almanack for 1773. By
Nathaniel Ames. Boston: R. Draper; Edes & Gill;
and T. & J. Fleet.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1773 An Astronomical Diary, Or, An Almanack for 1773. By
Nathaniel Ames. Boston: E. Russell; and J. Hicks.
A.A.S.

- 1773 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1773. Boston:
John Fleeming.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1773 Broadside. The Boston Almanack for 1773. Boston:
Isaiah Thomas.
A.A.S.
- 1773 The Essex Almanack for 1773. By Philo Freeman.
Salem: S. and E. Hall.
A.A.S.
- 1773 Fleeming's Register for New-England and Nova-
Scotia for 1773. Boston: John Fleeming.
49 ll. A.A.S.
- 1773 The Massachusetts Calendar, or Wonderful Almanack
for 1773. By Ezra Gleason. Boston: E. Russell.
12 ll. B.P.L.
- 1773 An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1773. By
Nathaniel Low. Boston: J. Kneeland.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1773 The North-American's Calendar And Gentlemen and
Ladies Diary, Being an Almanack for 1773. By
Samuel Stearns. Boston: Edes & Gill, and T. & J.
Fleet.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1774 An Astronomical Diary; Or, An Almanack for 1774. By
Nathaniel Ames. Boston: R. Draper; Edes &
Gill; and T. & J. Fleet.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1774 Another with imprint, "E. Russell."
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1774 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1774. Boston:
Mills & Hicks.
16 ll. A.A.S.
Folding copperplate signed "J Callender."
- 1774 Broadside. The Boston Sheet Almanack for 1774.
Boston: Isaiah Thomas.
A.A.S.
- 1774 The Massachusetts Calendar; or an Almanack for 1774.
By Ezra Gleason. Boston: Isaiah Thomas.
16 ll. A.A.S.
A second edition was issued.
A.A.S.

- 1774 An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1774. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: J. Kneeland.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1774 Mills and Hicks' British and American Register for 1774. Boston: Mills and Hicks.
54 ll. A.A.S.
- 1774 The North-American's Almanack; And Gentlemen's and Ladies' Diary for 1774. By Samuel Stearns. Boston: Edes and Gill, and T. and J. Fleet.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1775 An Astronomical Diary; Or, An Almanack for 1775. By Nathaniel Ames. Boston: Draper's, Edes & Gills, and T. & J. Fleets.
12 ll. A.A.S.
This is the last of the Ames series.
- 1775 Another issue with imprint. "E. Russell & J. Hicks."
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1775 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1775. Boston: Mills and Hicks.
16 ll. A.A.S.
- 1775 Broadside. Thomas's Boston Almanack for 1775. Boston: Isaiah Thomas.
A.A.S.
- 1775 An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1775. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: John Kneeland.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1775 Mills and Hicks' British and American Register for 1775. Boston: Mills and Hicks.
54 ll. A.A.S.
Another impression with variation. "Sold by Cox and Berry."
L.C.
- 1775 The North-American's Almanack; And Gentlemen and Ladies Diary for 1775. By Samuel Stearns. Boston: Edes and Gill, and T. and J. Fleet.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1775 Thomas's New-England Almanack; or, the Massachusetts Calendar for 1775. By Philomathes. Massachusetts Bay. Boston, Isaiah Thomas.
12 ll. A.A.S.

A second edition was issued. This is the first almanac bearing the name of Thomas.

- 1775 An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1775. By Isaac Warren. Woburn: Printed and sold by the Author.

A.A.S.

10 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1776 Bickerstaff's New England Almanack for 1776. Newburyport: Mycall and Tinges.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1776 George's Cambridge Almanack or, the Essex Calendar for 1776. By Daniel George. Salem: E. Russell.

8 ll.

A.A.S.

A second edition with extra leaf containing portrait of Gen. Warren.

E.

Some copies were made up by adding the extra leaf to the first edition.

M.H.S.

- 1776 An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1776. By Nathaniel Low. Massachusetts-Bay: I. Thomas; B. Edes; and S. & E. Hall.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1776 The North-American's Almanack, And Gentleman's and Lady's Diary for 1776. By Samuel Stearns. Massachusetts-Bay: I. Thomas; B. Edes; and S. & E. Hall.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1776 The North-American Almanack, And Gentleman's and Lady's Diary for 1776. By Samuel Stearns. Boston: Printed and sold in Queen Street.

8 ll.

C. L. NICHOLS.

This issue was printed in Boston during the siege.

- 1777 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1777. Boston: John Boyle; and Draper and Phillips.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1777 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1777. America. Salem. E. Russell.

14 ll.

E.

- 1777 An Almanack for 1777. By Daniel George. Massachusetts-Bay: Draper & Phillips; and J. Mycall.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1777 An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1777. By Nathaniel Low. America. Boston: J. Gill; and T. and J. Fleet.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1777 The North American's Almanack for 1777. By Samuel Stearns. State of Massachusetts-Bay. Worcester: Stearns and Bigelow.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

There are three variations of this issue.

E. S. PHELPS.

- 1777 The North-American's Almanack for 1777. By Isaac Warren. Worcester: W. Stearns and D. Bigelow.

10 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1778 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1778. By Benjamin West. Danvers: E. Russell.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1778 An Almanack for 1778. By Daniel George. Newburyport: John Mycall.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1778 An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1778. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: J. Gill; and T. & J. Fleet.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1779 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1779. By Benjamin West. Danvers, near Boston: E. Russell.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1779 A Pocket Almanack for 1779. Boston: T. & J. Fleet.

12 ll.

Fleet's Register for the State of Massachusetts-Bay in New England for 1779. Boston: T. & J. Fleet.

15 ll.

A.A.S.

The first issue of "Fleet's Register" which continued until 1800 under this title: the register being bound with the Almanack.

- 1779 An Almanack for 1779. By Daniel George. Boston: Draper & Folsom; and John Mycall of Newbury-Port.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1779 The same with imprint "Newburyport: J. Mycall; and Draper & Folsom of Boston."

12 ll.

B.P.L.

- 1779 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1779. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: J. Gill; and T. and J. Fleet.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1779 An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1779. By Nathaniel Low. Massachusetts-State. Powars and Willis in Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1779 Thomas's Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, and Connecticut Almanack for 1779. By Philomathes. Massachusetts-Bay: Worcester, Isaiah Thomas.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- A second and a third edition were issued.
A.A.S. & E. S. PHELPS.
- The first of the Worcester series which continued without break until 1820.
- 1780 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1780. Boston: Draper and Folsom, and John Mycall, of Newbury.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1780 A Pocket Almanack for 1780. [with Register] Boston: T. & J. Fleet.
35 ll. A.A.S.
- 1780 An Almanack for 1780. By Daniel George. Newbury: J. Mycall; also Draper & Folsom of Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1780 An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1780. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: N. Willis, and White and Adams.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1780 An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1780. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: John Gill, and T. & J. Fleet.
12 ll. H.C.
- A second edition was issued.
H.C.
- 1780 Russell's American Almanack for 1780. Danvers: E. Russell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1780 Thomas's Massachusetts, New-Hampshire and Connecticut Almanack for 1780. By Philomathes. Massachusetts-Bay: Worcester, Isaiah Thomas.
12 ll. A.A.S.

- 1781 A Pocket Almanack for 1781. [with Register] Boston:
T. & J. Fleet.
32 ll. A.A.S.
- 1781 George's Almanack for 1781. Newburyport: John
Mycall.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1781 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1781. By
Nathaniel Low. Boston: T. & J. Fleet; J. Gill and
N. Willis.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1781 Russell's American Almanack for 1781. Danvers.
E. Russell.
12 ll. E. S. PHELPS.
- 1781 The New-England Almanack for 1781. By the Pro-
fessor of Mathematics in Yale College. Worcester:
Anthony Haswell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- The first Massachusetts almanack by Nehemiah Strong.
- 1781 Thomas's Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Con-
necticut Almanack for 1781. Massachusetts-Bay:
Worcester, Isaiah Thomas.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1781 Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for 1781.
By Abraham Weatherwise, Philom. Boston: John
D. McDougall and Company.
L.C.
- 18 ll. with folding copper plate frontispiece.
The first number of the Massachusetts series. A second
edition was issued.
- 1782 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1782. Boston:
E. Russell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1782 A Pocket Almanack for 1782. [with Register.] Boston:
T. & J. Fleet.
42 ll. B.P.L.
- 1782 An Almanack for 1782. By Daniel George. Newbury-
port. John Mycall.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1782 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1782. By
Nathaniel Low. Boston, Commonwealth of Massa-

- chusetts: T. and J. Fleet; J. Gill and N. Willis.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1782 Russell's American Almanack for 1782. Boston: E. Russell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1782 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire and Vermont Almanack for 1782. Worcester: Isaiah Thomas.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- A second edition was issued.
- 1782 Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for 1782. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: Nathaniel Coverly, and Robert Hodge.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1783 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1783. Boston: E. Russell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- A second edition was issued.
- 1783 A Pocket Almanack for 1783. [with Register.] Boston: T. & J. Fleet.
36 ll. A.A.S.
- 1783 An Almanack for 1783. By Daniel George. Newburyport: John Mycall.
8 ll. A.A.S.
- 1783 An Astronomical Diary; or Almanack for 1783. By Nathaniel Low. Boston Commonwealth of Massachusetts: T. & J. Fleet. J. Gill and N. Willis.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1783 An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1783. By S. Late Professor of Mathematics in Yale College. Springfield: Babcock & Hastvell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- The first almanac printed in Springfield.
- 1783 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire and Vermont Almanack for 1783. Worcester: Isaiah Thomas.
21 ll. A.A.S.
- 1783 Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for 1783. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: Robert Hodge.
12 ll. A.A.S.

- 1783 The Massachusetts Almanack for 1783. By Isaac Weston. Salem: Samuel Hall.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1784 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1784. Boston: E. Russell, and Adams and Nourse.
12 ll. A.A.S.
Another impression varying in last line.
C. L. NICHOLS.
- 1784 An Almanack for 1784. By Isaac Bickerstaff. Springfield: Elisha Babcock.
12 ll. H.C.
- 1784 A Pocket Almanack for 1784. [with Register.] Boston: T. & J. Fleet.
40 ll. A.A.S.
- 1784 An Almanack for 1784. By Daniel George. Newburyport: John Mycall.
12 ll. EVANS' BIBLIOGRAPHY.
- 1784 An Almanack for 1784. By Daniel George. Boston: Adams and Nourse, and Ezekiel Russell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
Another issue with variation on title page.
N.Y.P.L.
- 1784 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1784. By Nathaniel Low. Boston, Commonwealth of Massachusetts: T. & J. Fleet; J. Gill and N. Willis.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1784 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island New-Hampshire and Vermont Almanack for 1784. Worcester: Isaiah Thomas.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1784 Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for 1784. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: Norman and White.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1784 The same with imprint; "Boston: Nathaniel Coverly."
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1785 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1785. Boston: E. Russell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
A second and a third edition issued.
A.A.S.

- 1785 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1785. Boston:
John W. Folsom.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1785 An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1785. By
Isaac Bickerstaff. Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
Brooks and Russell, in Springfield.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1785 A Pocket Almanack for 1785. [with Register.] Boston:
T. & J. Fleet.
54 ll. A.A.S.
- 1785 D. George. Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1785
states on title page, "George's Almanack is in the
press." No copy known.
- 1785 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1785. By
Nathaniel Low. T. & J. Fleet, in Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1785 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island,
New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1785.
Worcester, Isaiah Thomas.
22 ll. A.A.S.
- A second edition was issued.

E. S. PHELPS.

And a third edition.

EVANS' BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- 1785 Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for 1785.
By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: Weeden and
Barrett.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1786 Ames' Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1786. New-
bury-port; John Mycall.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1786 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1786. Boston:
John W. Folsom.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1786 Bickerstaff's Genuine Boston Almanack for 1786.
Boston: E. Russell.
12 ll. E. S. PHELPS.
- 1786 Bickerstaff's Plymouth Almanack for 1786. Plymouth:
Nathaniel Coverly.
12 ll. L.C.

- 1786 An Almanack for 1786. By Isaac Bickerstaff. Springfield: Stebbins & Russell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1786 A Pocket Almanack for 1786. [with Register.] Boston: T. & J. Fleet.
64 ll. A.A.S.
- 1786 An Almanack for 1786. By Daniel George. Boston: Adams and Nourse.
16 ll. A.A.S.
- 1786 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1786. By Nathaniel Low. T. & J. Fleet, in Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1786 The New-England Calendar, or the Boston Almanack for 1786. By Copernicus Partridge. Boston, for E. Battelle.
12 ll. E.
- 1786 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1786. Worcester, Isaiah Thomas.
22 ll. A.A.S.
- 1786 Weatherwise's Plymouth Almanack for 1786. Plymouth: Nathaniel Coverly.
12 ll. N.Y.P.L.
- 1786 Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for 1786. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: James D. Griffith.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1786 Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for 1786. Boston: Edmund Freeman.
12 ll. C. L. NICHOLS.
- 1786 Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for 1786. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: J. Norman.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1787 Bickerstaff's Genuine Boston Almanack for 1787. No imprint.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- The title page is occupied with a full page cut with above title on right hand side. Two varieties of this Almanack—different in text and illustrations. Libbie Sale catalogue, Jan. 9, 1909.
- 1787 Bickerstaff's Genuine Almanack for 1787. Boston: Charles Cambridge.
12 ll. A.A.S.

- 1787 A Pocket Almanack for 1787. [with Register.] Boston: T. & J. Fleet.
68 ll. A.A.S.
- 1787 An Almanack for 1787. By Daniel George. Boston: Edes & Son.
12 ll. E.
- 1787 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1787. By Nathaniel Low. T. & J. Fleet, in Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1787 The Universal Calendar, and the North-American Almanack for 1787. By Samuel Stearns. Boston: Edmund Freeman.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1787 An Almanack for 1787. By N. Strong. Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Springfield: Stebbins and Russell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1787 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1787. Worcester, Isaiah Thomas.
22 ll. A.A.S.
- A second edition was issued.
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1787 Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for 1787. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: James D. Griffith.
12 ll. C. L. NICHOLS.
- 1787 Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for 1787. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: J. Norman.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1787 Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for 1787. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: John W. Folsom.
12 ll. E. S. PHELPS.
- 1788 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack, or, the Federal Calendar for 1788. Boston: E. Russell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- A second, third and fourth edition were issued.
A.A.S.
- 1788 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1788. By John Mycall at Newbury-port. .
12 ll. A.A.S.

- 1788 An Almanack for 1788. By Samuel Bullard. Boston:
John W. Folsom.
12 ll. L.C.
- 1788 A Pocket Almanack for 1788. [with Register.] Boston:
T. & J. Fleet.
72 ll. A.A.S.
- 1788 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1788. By
Nathaniel Low. T. & J. Fleet, in Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1788 The Universal Calendar, and the North American's
Almanack for 1788. By Samuel Stearns. Boston:
Edes and Son.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1788 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island,
New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1788.
Worcester, Isaiah Thomas.
22 ll. A.A.S.
- 1788 Weatherwise's Federal Almanack for 1788. By Abra-
ham Weatherwise. Boston: John Norman.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1788 An Almanack for 1788. By A. Weatherwise. Boston:
John W. Folsom.
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1789 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack, or Federal Calendar
for 1789. Boston: E. Russell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1789 Bickerstaff's Almanack for 1789. Boston: Edmund
Freeman.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1789 An Almanack for 1789. By Samuel Bullard. Boston:
Edes & Son.
12 ll. B P.L.
- 1789 Fleet's Pocket Almanack for 1789. [with Register.]
Boston: T. & J. Fleet.
84 ll. A.A.S.
- 1789 Folsom's New Pocket Almanack for 1789. By Coper-
nicus Philo. Boston: John W. Folsom.
18 ll. A.A.S.

A second edition was issued.

N.Y.P.L.

- 1789 Hall's Massachusetts Almanack, with an Ephemeris for 1789. Boston: Samuel Hall.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1789 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1789. By Nathaniel Low. T. & J. Fleet, in Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1789 The Universal Calendar and the North American's Almanack for 1789. By Samuel Stearns. Boston: Edes & Son.
12 ll. M.H.S.
- 1789 Thomas's Massachuestts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1789. Worcester, Isaiah Thomas.
22 ll. A.A.S.
- 1789 Weatherwise's Almanack for 1789. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: Edmund Freeman.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1789 Weatherwise's Federal Almanack for 1789. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: John Norman.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1790 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack for 1790. Boston: Printed for and sold by the Booksellers.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1790 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack, or, Federal Calendar for 1790. (Boston:) E. Russell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- A second and a third edition were issued.
C. L. NICHOLS.
- 1790 An Almanack for 1790. By Samuel Bullard. Boston: B. Edes & Son.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1790 An Astronomical Diary; or an Almanack for 1790. By Osgood Carlton. Boston: Samuel Hall.
12 ll. B.P.L.
- 1790 An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1790. By Walter Folger Jr. of Nantucket. Boston: J. White and C. Cambridge.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1790 Fleet's Pocket Almanack for 1790. [with Register.] Boston: T. & J. Fleet.
84 ll. A.A.S.

- 1790 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1790. By Nathaniel Low. T. & J. Fleet, in Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1790 The Massachusetts Almanack for 1790. By Poor Richard. Boston: Joseph Hovey.
16 ll. L.C.
Printed entirely in red and on one side of the leaf only.
- 1790 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1790. Worcester, Isaiah Thomas.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1790 Weatherwise's Federal Almanack for 1790. Engraved, Printed and Sold by J. Norman.
A broadside entirely engraved. A.A.S.
- 1790 Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for 1790. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: John W. Folsom.
12 ll. E.
- 1790 The Town and Country Almanack for 1790. By Abraham Weatherwise. J. White, and C. Cambridge, Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1791 Bickerstaff's Boston Almanack, or, Federal Calendar for 1791. [Boston:] E. Russell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
A sixth edition issued.
- 1791 Bickerstaff's Genuine Almanack for 1791. Boston: Joseph Bumstead. E. S. PHELPS.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1791 Bickerstaff's Genuine Massachusetts, Rhode-Island and Connecticut Almanack for 1791. Printed for and sold by the Booksellers in Town and Country.
12 ll. B.P.L.
A variation of above issue.
- 1791 An Almanack for 1791. By Samuel Bullard. Boston: J. White and C. Cambridge. E. S. PHELPS.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1791 An Astronomical Diary; or, an Almanack for 1791. By Osgood Carleton. Boston: Samuel Hall.
16 ll. A.A.S.

- 1791 The Federal Almanack for 1791. Boston: Printed for
and sold by the Booksellers.
12 ll. L.C.
- 1791 Fleet's Pocket Almanack for 1791. [with Register.]
Boston: T. & J. Fleet.
78 ll. A.A.S.
- 1791 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1791. By
Nathaniel Low. T. & J. Fleet, in Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1791 The Universal Calendar, and North-American Almanack
for 1791. By Samuel Stearns. Boston: Edes & Son.
14 ll. L.
- 1791 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island,
New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1791.
Worcester, Isaiah Thomas.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1791 The Federal Almanack for 1791. By Abraham Weather-
wise. Boston: J. White, and C. Cambridge.
12 ll. H.C.
- 1791 Weatherwise's Genuine Massachusetts, Rhode-Island
and Connecticut Almanack for 1791. Boston: N.
Coverly.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1791 Weatherwise's Genuine Massachusetts, Rhode-Island
and Connecticut Almanack for 1791. By Abraham
Weatherwise. Boston: Printed for and sold by the
Booksellers in Town and Country.
12 ll. H.C.
- 1791 Weatherwise's Town and Country Almanack for 1791.
Boston: Printed for and sold by the Booksellers.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1791 The same with imprint; "Boston: John W. Folsom."
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1792 Bickerstaff's Genuine Boston Almanack or Federal
Calendar for 1792. [Boston.] E. Russell.
12 ll.
A second edition was issued.
A.A.S.
- 1792 Bickerstaff's Genuine Almanack for 1792. Boston:
Printed for and sold by the Booksellers.
12 ll. A.A.S.

- 1792 Bickerstaff's Genuine Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode-Island and Connecticut Almanack for 1792. Boston: Nathaniel Coverly.
12 ll. A.A.S.
Another impression varying in the illustrations.
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1792 An Almanack for 1792. By Samuel Bullard. Boston: STICKNEY SALE CATALOGUE.
- 1792 An Astronomical Diary: or, an Almanack for 1792. By Osgood Carleton. Boston: Samuel Hall.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1792 The Federal Almanack for 1792. Boston: Printed and sold by the Booksellers.
12 ll. B.P.L.
- 1792 Fleet's Pocket Almanack for 1792. [with Register.] Boston: T. & J. Fleet.
90 ll. A.A.S.
- 1792 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1792. By Nathaniel Low. T. & J. Fleet, in Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1792 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1792. By Amos Pope. Boston: John W. Folsom.
12 ll. H.C.
- 1792 The Universal Calendar, and the North American Almanack for 1792. By the Hon. Samuel Stearns, Esq. L. L. D. Boston: B. Edes and Son.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1792 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire, & Vermont Almanack for 1792. Worcester, Isaiah Thomas.
24 ll. A.A.S.
A second edition was issued. A.A.S.
- 1792 The Massachusetts and New-Hampshire Almanack for 1792. By Abraham Weatherwise. Philom. Boston: J. White, and C. Cambridge.
12 ll. L.C.
Weatherwise's Genuine Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode-Island and Connecticut Almanack for 1792. Boston: Nathaniel Coverly.
12 ll. A.A.S.

- 1792 Weatherwise's Town & Country Almanack for 1792.
Boston: John W. Folsom.
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1793 Bickerstaff's Genuine Boston Almanack or Federal
Calendar for 1793. (Boston.) E. Russell.
12 ll.
A.A.S.
- 1793 The Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Hampshire,
Rhode-Island and Vermont Almanack for 1793. By
Isaac Bickerstaff. Boston: Nathaniel Coverly.
12 ll.
A.A.S.
Another impression with slight variation in imprint.
A.A.S.
- 1793 An issue with imprint. "Boston: Printed and sold by
Wm. T. Clapp. No. 90 Newbury St."
A.A.S.
- 1793 The New-England Callendar, or Almanack for 1793.
By Isaac Bickerstaffe. Boston: Nathaniel Coverly.
12 ll.
B.P.L.
- 1793 An Almanack for 1793. By Samuel Bullard. Boston:
B. Edes & Son.
12 ll.
A.A.S.
- 1793 Carleton's Almanack, (Enlarged and Improved) for
1793. By Osgood Carleton. Boston: Samuel Hall.
18 ll.
A.A.S.
- 1793 Fleet's Pocket Almanack for 1793. [with Register.]
Boston: T. & J. Fleet.
84 ll.
A.A.S.
- 1793 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1793. By
Nathaniel Low. T. & J. Fleet, in Boston.
12 ll.
A.A.S.
- 1793 The New-England Callendar, or Almanack for 1793.
By Richard Astrologer. Boston: Nathaniel Coverly.
12 ll.
A.A.S.
- 1793 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1793. By
Amos Pope. Boston: John W. Folsom.
12 ll.
B.P.L.
- 1793 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island,
New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1793.
Worcester, I. Thomas, and L. Worcester, for Isaiah
Thomas.
24 ll.
A.A.S.

- 1793 The Farmer's Almanack, calculated on a new and improved plan for 1793. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Belknap and Hall.
24 ll. A.A.S.
The first issue of this series.
- 1793 The Massachusetts and New-Hampshire Almanack for 1793. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: I. White and C. Cambridge.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1793 The New England Calendar for 1793. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: Nathaniel Coverly.
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1794 The Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, And Vermont Almanack for 1794. By Isaac Bickerstaffe. Boston: Printed for and sold by the Booksellers.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1794 Carleton's Almanack, [Enlarged and Improved] for 1794. By Osgood Carleton. Boston: Samuel Hall.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1794 An Almanack for 1794. By Nicolaus Copernicus. Boston B. Edes & Son.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1794 A Pocket Almanack for 1794. [with Register.] Boston: Thomas and John Fleet.
84 ll. A.A.S.
- 1794 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1794. By Nathaniel Low. T. & J. Fleet, in Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1794 The New England Callendar, or Almanack for 1794. By Richard Astrologer. Boston: Nathaniel Coverly.
12 ll. L.C.
- 1794 Pope's Almanack for 1794. Boston: John W. Folsom.
24 ll. C. L. NICHOLS.
- 1794 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1794. By Amos Pope. Boston: John W. Folsom.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1794 An Astronomical Diary, Calendar, or, Almanack for 1794. By N. Strong. Springfield, Edward Gray.
12 ll. A.A.S.

- 1794 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1794. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas.
24 ll. A.A.S.
A second edition was issued.
- E. S. PHELPS.
- 1794 No. II. The Farmer's Almanack for 1794. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Joseph Belknap, and Thomas Hall.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1794 The Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, And Vermont Almanack for 1794. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: Printed for and sold by the Booksellers.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1795 An Almanack for 1795. By Isaac Bickerstaff. Boston, Thomas Hall.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1795 The Federal Almanack for 1795. By Isaac Bickerstaff. Boston: J. White.
12 ll. R.I.H.S.
- 1795 Carleton's Almanack, [Enlarged and Improved] for 1795. By Osgood Carleton. T. Hall, Boston.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1795 A Pocket Almanack for 1795. [with Register.] Boston: Thomas and John Fleet.
84 ll. A.A.S.
- 1795 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1795. By Nathaniel Low. T. & J. Fleet, in Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1795 The New Hampshire Calendar, or an Almanack for 1795. By James Noyes. Newbury-port. Blunt and March.
12 ll. E.
- 1795 Pope's Almanack for 1795. Boston: John W. Folsom.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1795 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1795. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas.
24 ll. A.A.S.
A second edition was issued.
- A.A.S.

- 1795 No. III. The Farmer's Almanack for 1795. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Joseph Belknap, and Thomas Hall.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1795 Weatherwise's Almanack for 1795. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: Printed for, and sold by the Booksellers.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1795 The New Hampshire Calendar or Almanack for 1795. By Abraham Weatherwise. Newburyport: Blunt and March.
12 ll. L.C.
- 1796 Bickerstaff's Genuine Almanack for 1796. Boston: J. White.
12 ll. GOODSPEED'S CATALOGUE.
- 1796 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1796. By Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq. Boston: Printed for B. Larkin, etc., etc. Bumstead's edition.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1796 An Almanack for 1796. By Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq. Boston: Samuel Etheridge for William P. Blake.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1796 Carleton's Almanack, [Enlarged and Improved] for 1796. By Osgood Carleton. Boston. Printed for William P. Blake.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1796 A Pocket Almanack for 1796. [with Register.] Boston: Thomas and John Fleet.
84 ll. A.A.S.
- 1796 A Friend's Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1796. By Benjamin Fry. Boston: Samuel Etheridge for William P. Blake.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1796 Larkin's Pocket Register with Almanack for 1796. Boston: For Benjamin Larkin.
82 ll. A.A.S.
- 1796 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1796. By Nathaniel Low. T. & J. Fleet, in Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1796 Pope's Almanack for 1796. Boston: John W. Folsom.

- 1796 Strong's Almanack for 1796. Springfield, Edward Gray.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1796 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island,
New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1796.
Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1796 No. IV. The Farmer's Almanack for 1796. By Robert
B. Thomas. Boston: Joseph Belknap.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1796 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1796. By
Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: Printed for B.
Larkin, etc., etc. Bumstead's Edition.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1797 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1797. By
Isaac Bickerstaff. Printed at Boston; And sold by
J. Boyle, [etc., etc.].
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1797 Carleton's Almanack for 1797. By Osgood Carleton.
Boston: Samuel Hall.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1797 The Federal Almanack for 1797. Printed at Boston,
and sold by J. Boyle, [etc., etc.].
12 ll. L.C.
- 1797 The Pocket Almanack for 1797. [with Register.]
Boston: T. & J. Fleet.
84 ll. A.A.S.
- 1797 The Gentlemens and Ladies Diary: or, an Almanack
for 1797. By Asa Houghton. Worcester: Thomas,
Son & Thomas.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1797 An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1797. By
Nathaniel Low. T. & J. Fleet, in Boston.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1797 The Columbian Calendar or New-England Almanack
for 1797. By John Newman. Minerva Press in
Dedham.
12 ll. N.Y.P.L.
- 1797 Pope's Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-
Hampshire, and Vermont Almanack for 1797. By
Amos Pope. Boston: John W. Folsom.
12 ll.

- 1797 Strong's Astronomical Diary, Calendar, or, Almanack for 1797. West-Springfield: Edward Gray.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1797 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1797. Worcester, Massachusetts, For Isaiah Thomas.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1797 No. V. The Farmer's Almanack for 1797. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Manning and Loring for John West.
26 ll. A.A.S.
- 1797 Weatherwise's Almanack for 1797. Printed at Boston, And Sold by J. Boyle, (etc., etc.).
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1798 Bickerstaff's Genuine Almanack for 1798. Boston: J. White.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1798 Bickerstaff's Genuine Almanack for 1798. Printed at Boston: at Russell's office.
12 ll. B.P.L.
- 1798 An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1798. By Seth Chandler. Boston: Joseph Bumstead.
12 ll. L.C.
- 1798 Fleet's Register and Pocket Almanack for 1798. Boston: Thomas and John Fleet.
84 ll. A.A.S.
- 1798 Low's. An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1798. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: John & Thomas Fleet.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1798 Strong's Astronomical Diary, Calendar, or, Almanack for 1798. West Springfield: Edward Gray.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1798 Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1798. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- A second edition. In this edition the title was; "Isaiah Thomas's."
A.A.S.

- 1798 No. VI. The Farmer's Almanack for 1798. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston; Manning & Loring for John West.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1798 Weatherwise's Almanack for 1798. By Abraham Weatherwise. Printed at Boston. Sold by B. Larkik, [etc., etc.].
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1799 Bickerstaff's, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New Hampshire and Vermont Almanack for 1799. Nathaniel & John Coverly in Salem.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1799 The Farmer's Almanack for 1799. Massachusetts: Printed for and sold by the Booksellers.
12 ll. B.P.L.
- 1799 Fleet's Register, and Pocket Almanack for 1799. Boston: Thomas and John Fleet.
84 ll. A.A.S.
- 1799 A Sheet Almanack with Low's Calculations for 1799. Boston: Thomas Fleet.
A.A.S.
In the newspaper advertisements [The Centinel,] are frequent, but not consecutive, notices of a sheet Almanack like the above, prepared from Lows' Calculations. This is the only one seen.
- 1799 Low's. An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1799. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: John & Thomas Fleet.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1799 Isaiah Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1799. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1799 No. VII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1799. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Manning & Loring for John West.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1799 Weatherwise's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire and Vermont Almanack for 1799. Nathaniel & John Coverly in Salem.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1799 The same with imprint; "Medford: Nathaniel Coverly."
E. S. PHELPS.

- 1800 Bickerstaff's Almanack for 1800. Printed for Booksellers in Boston, etc.
B. P. L.
- 1800 The Astronomical Repository, or the Family Calendar for 1800. By Thomas Fulling, A. M. Boston: B. Edes.
12 ll. L. C.
- 1800 Fleet's Register, and Pocket Almanack for 1800. Boston John & Thomas Fleet.
96 ll. A. A. S.
The last issue by Fleet.
- 1800 Low's. An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1800. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: John & Thomas Fleet.
12 ll. A. A. S.
- 1800 Isaiah Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1800. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas.
24 ll. A. A. S.
- 1800 No. VIII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1800. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Manning & Loring.
24 ll. A. A. S.
- 1801 An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1801. By Isaac Bickerstaff. Boston: Printed for Booksellers.
12 ll. E. S. PHELPS.
- 1801 Low's. An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1801. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: John & Thomas Fleet.
12 ll. A. A. S.
- 1801 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1801. Boston: Manning & Loring.
90 ll. A. A. S.
The successor to Fleet's Register.
- 1801 An Almanack for 1801 By Joseph Osgood, Philom. Boston: Joseph White.
12 ll. A. A. S.
- 1801 The Columbian Calendar: or Almanack for 1801. By Remington Southwick. Dedham: H. Mann.
12 ll. E.
- 1801 Isaiah Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1801. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas.
24 ll. A. A. S.

- 1801 No. IX. The Farmer's Almanack for 1801. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Manning & Loring.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1801 The Town and Country Almanack for 1801. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: Printed for and sold by the Booksellers.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1802 Low's. An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1802. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: John & Thomas Fleet.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1802 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1802. Boston: Manning & Loring.
104 ll. A.A.S.
- 1802 An Almanack of Poor Richard the Second, for 1802. Boston: Andrew Newell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
Another impression, varying in contents. A.A.S.
- 1802 Isaiah Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire & Vermont Almanack for 1802. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas, Jun.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1802 No. X. The Farmer's Almanack for 1802. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Manning & Loring.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1802 The Town and Country Almanack for 1802. By Abraham Weatherwise. Salem: Nathaniel Coverly, Jun'r.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1803 Low's. An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1803. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: John & Thomas Fleet.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1803 Poor Richard's Almanack for 1803. Boston: Andrew Newell.
Advertised in "Independent Chronicle, Oct. 28" 1802. A sheet Almanack for the same year was also issued. No copy seen.
- 1803 The Astronomical and Miscellaneous Calendar for 1803. By Daniel Thornton. New-Bedford: Abraham Shearman, Jun.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1803 Isaiah Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire and Vermont Almanack for 1803. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas, Jun.
24 ll. A.A.S.

- 1803 No. XI. The Farmer's Almanack for 1803. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Printed for John West. 24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1803 The Town and Country Almanack for 1803. By Abraham Weatherwise. Salem, Printed for, and Sold by the Booksellers. 12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1804 The Columbian Almanack and Agricultural Repository for 1804. Dedham: H. Mann. 31 ll. A.A.S.
- 1804 Howe's Almanac for 1804. By John Howe, Esq. Greenwich. 12 ll. A.A.S.
The first of the Howe series.
- 1804 Low's. An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1804. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: John & Thomas Fleet. 12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1804 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1804. Boston: Published by John West and Manning & Loring. 108 ll. A.A.S.
- 1804 Isaiah Thomas, Jun's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire and Vermont Almanack for 1804. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas, Jun. 24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1804 No. XII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1804. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Printed for John West. 24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1804 The Columbian Calendar, and New-England Almanac for 1804. By John Truefant. Leominster: Adams & Wilder. 21 ll. A.A.S.
- 1804 The Universal Almanack for 1804. By Abraham Weatherwise. Boston: Nathaniel Coverly. 12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1805 Howe's Almanac for 1805. By John Howe. Greenwich. No copy seen.
- 1805 Low's. An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1805. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: John & Thomas Fleet. 12 ll. A.A.S.

- 1805 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1805. Boston: Published by John West and Manning & Loring.
108 ll. A.A.S.
- 1805 Number III. Poor Richard's Almanack for 1805. Boston: A. Newell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1805 Isaiah Thomas, Jun'r's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire and Vermont Almanack for 1805. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas, Jun.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1805 No. XIII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1805. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Printed for John West.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1805 The Columbian Calendar, and New-England Almanac for 1805. By John Truefant. Leominster: Adams & Wilder.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1806 An Almanack for 1806. By Samuel Bullard. Dedham: Herman Mann.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1806 Howe's Almanac for 1806. By John Howe, Esq. Greenwich.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1806 Low's. An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1806 Boston: John & Thomas Fleet.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1806 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1806. Boston. Published by John West and Manning & Loring.
108 ll. A.A.S.
- 1806 No. IV. Poor Richard's Genuine New-England Almanack for 1806. Boston: A. Newell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1806 Isaiah Thomas, Jun'r's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire and Vermont Almanack for 1806. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas, Jun.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1806 No. XIV. The Farmer's Almanack for 1806. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston; Printed for John West.
24 ll. A.A.S.

- 1806 Truefant's Family Almanac, and Daily Register for 1806. Boston: Gilbert and Dean.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1806 Vinson's Almanack, or Annual and Entertaining Visitor. By Thomas Vinson. Boston: David Carlisle.
The first number—no copy seen.
- 1807 An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1807. By Isaac Bickerstaff. Thomas & Whipple. Newburyport.
12 ll. B.P.L.
- 1807 Howe's Almanac for 1807. By John Howe, Esq. Professor of Natural Philosophy, Greenwich.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1807 Low. An Astronomical Diary: or, Almanack for 1807. By Nathaniel Low. Boston, Munroe & Francis, and Belcher & Armstrong.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1807 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1807. Boston: Published by John West, and Manning & Loring.
116 ll. A.A.S.
- 1807 No. V. Poor Richard's Franklin Almanack for 1807. Boston: A. Newell.
12 ll. A.A.S.
There is a variation of this imprint.
- 1807 Isaiah Thomas, Jun'r's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire, and Vermont Almanack for 1807. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas, Jun.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1807 No. XV. The Farmer's Almanack for 1807. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: David Carlisle.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1807 Weatherwise's Genuine New-England Almanack for 1807. Printed for and sold by Thomas & Whipple, Newburyport.
12 ll. E.
- 1807 No. II. Vinson's Almanack, or Annual and Entertaining Visitor for 1807. Boston: By Thomas Vinson. David Carlisle.
10 ll. E. S. PHELPS.
- 1808 Howe's Almanac for 1808. By John Howe. Greenwich.
12 ll. H. L. HAPGOOD.

- 1808 Low's. An Astronomical Diary: or Almanack for 1808.
By Nathaniel Low. Boston, Munroe & Francis,
and Belcher and Armstrong.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1808 The Massachusetts Register and United States
Calendar for 1808. Boston: Published by John
West, and Manning & Loring.
116 ll. A.A.S.
- 1808 (No. 1.) The New England Diary, and Almanac for
1808. By John Parkhurst. Jun. Leominster: S.
& J. Wilder.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1808 No. VI. Poor Richard's Franklin Almanac for 1808.
Boston: Manning & Loring.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1808 Isaiah Thomas, Jun'r's Massachusetts, Connecticut,
Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire and Vermont Alma-
nack for 1808. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah
Thomas, Jun.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1808 No. XVI. The Farmer's Almanack for 1808. By
Robert B. Thomas. Boston: David Carlisle.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1808 No. III. Vinson's Almanack, or Annual and Entertain-
ing Visitor. By Thomas Vinson. Boston. David
Carlisle.
10 ll. A.A.S.
- 1809 No. 1. Poor Clergyman's Almanac, or An Astronomical
Diary and Serious Monitor for 1809. Boston:
Printed for Lincoln & Edmands.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1809 The Clergyman's Minor Almanac for 1809. Boston:
Lincoln & Edmands.
No copy seen. No. I of this series.
- 1809 Howe's Almanac for 1809. By John Howe. Greenwich.
No. VI of series—no copy seen.
- 1809 Low. An Astronomical Diary; or, Almanack for 1809.
By Nathaniel Low. Boston: Munroe, Francis &
Parker; and Belcher & Armstrong.
18 ll. A.A.S.
Nathaniel Low, Junior, continued this series after the death of
his father in 1808.

- 1809 The Massachusettts Register and United States Calendar for 1809. Boston: John West & Co., and Manning & Loring.
108 ll. A.A.S.
- 1809 No. II. The New England Diary, and Almanack for 1809. By John Parkhurst. Jun. Leominster: Salmon Wilder.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1809 Isaiah Thomas, Jun'r's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire, and Vermont Almanack for 1809. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas Jun.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1809 No XVIII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1809. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Printed for John West.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1809 No. IV. Vincent's Almanack, or Annual and Entertaining Visitor for 1809, By Thomas Vincent. Boston: E. G. House (Printer.)
12 ll. L.
- 1810 No. II. The Clergyman's Almanack for 1810. Boston: Printed for Lincoln & Edmunds.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1810 The Clergyman's Minor Almanack for 1810. Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.
No copy seen. No. II of the series.
- 1810 Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1810. By John Howe, Esq., Greenwich.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1810 Low. An Astronomical Diary; or Almanack for 1810. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: Published by Munroe, Francis & Parker, and J. Belcher.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1810 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1810. Boston: John West & Co. and Manning & Loring.
108 ll. A.A.S.
- 1810 The Pocket Almanack for 1810. Boston: Manning & Loring.
18 ll. A.A.S.

- 1810 Isaiah Thomas, Jun'r's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode-Island, New-Hampshire, and Vermont Almanack for 1810. Worcester, Massachusetts, Isaiah Thomas, Jun.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1810 No. XVIII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1810. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston. Printed for John West & Co.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1810 Truefant's Family Almanac, and Daily Register for 1810. Harvard: Sewall Parker.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1811 No. III. The Clergyman's Almanack for 1811. Boston Printed for the Author.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1811 No. III. The Clergyman's Minor Almanack for 1811. Boston; Printed for the Author.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1811 No. VIII. Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1811. Greenwich.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1811 Low. An Astronomical Diary; or Almanack for 1811. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: Published by Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1811 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1811. Boston: John West & Co., and Manning & Loring.
112 ll. A.A.S.
- 1811 Isaiah Thomas, Junior's Town & Country Almanack for 1811. Printed at Worcester, Massachusetts, By Isaiah Thomas, Jun.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1811 No. XIX. The Farmer's Almanack for 1811. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Printed for John West and Co.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1811 Truefant's Family Almanac, and Daily Register for 1811. Harvard: S. & J. S. Parker.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1812 No. IV. The Clergyman's Almanack for 1812. Boston: Printed for the Author.
24 ll. A.A.S.

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| 1812 | No. IV. The Clergyman's Minor Almanack for 1812.
Boston: Printed for the Author.
12 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1812 | Dedham Pocket Almanac and New-England Calendar for 1812. Dedham: H. Mann.
30 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1812 | The Diocesan Register and New England Calendar for 1812. Dedham: H. Mann.
131 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1812 | Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1812. By Philo Astronomiae. Greenwich.
12 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1812 | Low. An Astronomical Diary; or Almanack for 1812. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: Published by Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1812 | The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1812. Boston: John West & Co., and Manning & Loring.
126 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1812 | Isaiah Thomas, Junior's Town & Country Almanack for 1812. Printed at Worcester, Massachusetts, By Isaiah Thomas, Jun.
24 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1812 | No. XX. The Farmer's Almanack for 1812. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Printed for John West & Co.
24 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1813 | The New England Almanack for 1813. By Stoddard Capen, Jun. Boston: Edward Oliver.
12 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1813 | No. V. The Clergyman's Almanack for 1813. Boston: Printed for the Author.
24 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1813 | No. V. The Clergyman's Minor Almanack for 1813. Boston: Printed for the Author.
12 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1813 | Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1813. By Philo Astronomiae. Greenwich.
12 ll. | A.A.S. |

- 1813 The Gentleman's Pocket Almanack and Freemason's Vade Mecum for 1813. By John Lathrop, Jr. Boston: Published by Charles Williams.
27 ll. A.A.S.
- 1813 The Farmer's and Mariner's Astronomical and Nautical Diary for 1813. By Ezra Leonard, Jun. Boston: Edward Oliver.
14 ll. A.A.S.
- 1813 Low's Genuine Almanack for 1813. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: Published by Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1813 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1813. Boston: John West & Co., and Manning & Loring.
135 ll. A.A.S.
- 1813 Isaiah Thomas, Junior's Town & Country Almanack for 1813. Worcester, Isaac Sturtevant, For Isaiah Thomas Jun.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1813 No. XXI. The Farmer's Almanack for 1813. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Printed for West & Richardson.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1814 The Massachusetts Manual for 1814. By William Burdick. Boston: Printed for Charles Callendar.
34 ll. A.A.S.
- 1814 (No. 2.) The New England Almanack for 1814. By Stoddard Capen, Jun. Boston: Watson & Bang.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1814 No. VI. The Clergyman's Almanack for 1814. Boston: Printed for the Author.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1814 No. VI. The Clergyman's Minor Almanack for 1814. Boston: Printed for the Author.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1814 The Country Almanack for 1814. Greenfield: Denio & Phelps.
22 ll. A.A.S.
- The Preface is signed E. H.; Greenfield.

- 1814 The Genuine New England Almanack for 1814. By Benjamin Franklin Jr. A. M.
12 ll. A.A.S.
No imprint.
- 1814 No. X. Howe's Genuine Almanac, for 1814. By Philo Astronomiac. Greenfield.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1814 The Gentleman's Pocket Almanack, and Freemason's Vade Mecum. By John Lathrop, Jun. Boston: Published by Charles Williams.
27 ll. A.A.S.
- 1814 Low's Genuine Almanack for 1814. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: Published by Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1814 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1814. Boston: John West & Co., and Manning & Loring.
125 ll. A.A.S.
- 1814 The Pious Man's Almanack for 1814. Boston: [no imprint.]
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1814 Isaiah Thomas, Junior's Town & Country Almanack for 1814. Worcester, Isaac Sturtevant, For Isaiah Thomas, Jun.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1814 No. XXII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1814. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Printed for West & Richardson.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1815 (No. 3.) The New England Almanack for 1815. By Stoddard Capen, Jun. Boston: Published by Charles Callender.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1815 No. VII. The Clergyman's Almanack for 1815. Boston: Printed for the Author.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1815 No. VII. The Clergyman's Minor Almanack for 1815. Boston: Printed for the Author.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1815 The Country Almanack for 1815. Greenfield: Denio & Phelps.
24 ll. A.A.S.

- 1815 No. XI. Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1815. By Philo Astronomiae. Greenfield.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1815 Low's. The New England Farmer's Almanack, and Repository for 1815. By Nathaniel Low. M. D. Boston: Printed by Munroe, Francis & Parker.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1815 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1815. Boston: John West & Co., and Manning & Loring.
131 ll. A.A.S.
- 1815 Isaiah Thomas, Junior's Town & Country Almanack for 1815. Worcester, William Manning, For Isaiah Thomas, Jun.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1815 No. XXIII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1815. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Printed for West & Richardson.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1816 No. IV. The New-England Almanack for 1816. By Stoddard Capen. Boston: Thomas G. Bangs.
12 ll. L.
- 1816 No. VIII. The Clergyman's Almanack for 1816. Boston: Printed for the Author.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1816 No. VIII. The Clergyman's Minor Almanack for 1816. Boston: Printed for the Author.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1816 No. XII. Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1816. By Philo Astronomiae. Greenfield.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1816 The Country Almanack for 1816. Greenfield: Denio & Phelps.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1816 Low's Almanack, and Agricultural Register for 1816. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: Printed by Monroe, Francis & Parker.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1816 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1816. Boston: James Loring, and West & Richardson.
132 ll. A.A.S.

- 1816 Isaiah Thomas, Junior's Town & Country Almanack for 1816. Worcester, William Manning, For Isaiah Thomas, Jun.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1816 No. XXIV. The Farmer's Almanack for 1816. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Printed for West & Richardson.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1817 No. IX. The Clergyman's Almanack for 1817. Boston. Printed for the Author.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- Another copy with 12 ll.
- 1817 No. IX. The Clergyman's Minor Almanack for 1817. Boston: Printed for the Author.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- A variation of the above.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1817 No. XIII. Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1817. By Philo Astronomiae. Greenwich.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1817 Low's Almanack, and Agricultural Register for 1877. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: Printed by Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1817 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1817. Boston: James Loring and West & Richardson.
144 ll. A.A.S.
- 1817 The Physician's Almanack for 1817. Boston: Printed and sold by Tilton & Parmenter.
15 ll. A.A.S.
- 1817 An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1817. Haverill: Burill & Tilton.
E. S. PHELPS.
- Thomas Spofford's first almanac.
- 1817 Isaiah Thomas, Junior's Town & Country Almanack for 1817. Worcester, William Manning.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1817 No. XXV. The Farmer's Almanack for 1817. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Printed for West & Richardson.
24 ll. A.A.S.

- 1817 No. V. The New England Almanack for 1818. By
Stoddard Capen Jun. Boston: Parmentier & Norton.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1817 No. X. The Clergyman's Almanack for 1818. Boston:
Parmentier & Norton.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1818 No. I. The Adventurer's Almanack for 1818. Bos-
ton: Parmentier & Norton.
22 ll. H. L. HAPGOOD.
- 1818 No. X. The Clergyman's Minor Almanack for 1818.
Boston. Printed for the Author.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1818 The Country Almanack for 1818. Deerfield: John
Wilson.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1818 No. XIV. Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1818. By
Philo Astronomiae. Greenfield. E. S. PHELPS.
- 1818 Low's Almanack, and Astronomical and Agricultural
Register for 1818. By Nathaniel Low. Boston:
Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1818 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calen-
dar. Boston:
No copy seen.
- 1818 Isaiah Thomas, Junior's Town & Country Almanack
for 1818. Worcester, William Manning.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1818 No. XXVI. The Farmer's Almanack for 1818. By
Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Printed for West &
Richardson.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1819 No. XI. The Clergyman's Almanack for 1819. Boston:
Lincoln & Edmands, Parmentier & Norton.
24 ll. Also 12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1819 No. XI. The Clergyman's Minor Almanack for 1819.
Boston: Lincoln & Edmands, Parmentier & Norton.
16 ll. A.A.S.
The last issue.
- 1819 No. XV. Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1819. En-
field.
12 ll. A.A.S.

- 1819 Low's Almanack, and Astronomical and Agricultural Register for 1819. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1819 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1819. Boston: James Loring, and West, Richardson & Lord.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1819 No. III. An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for 1819. By Thomas Spofford. Boston: Hews & Goss.
18 ll. A.A.S.
The rest of this series published in New Hampshire until 1825.
- 1819 Isaiah Thomas, Junior's Town & Country Almanack for 1819. Worcester, William Manning.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1819 No. XXVII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1819. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: West, Richardson & Lord.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1820 The Annual Messinger, or Farmer's Almanack for 1820. Boston: Sylvester T. Goss.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1820 No. XII. The Clergyman's Almanac for 1820. Boston: Lincoln & Edmands; Parmentier & Norton.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1820 No. 16. Howe's Genuine Almanack for 1820. By Philo Astronomiae. Enfield.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1820 Low's Almanack, and Agricultural Kalendar for 1820. By Nathaniel Low. Boston: Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1820 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1820. Boston: James Loring, and West, Richardson & Lord.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1820 Miniature Almanack for 1820. Boston: Published by Charles Ewing.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1820 Isaiah Thomas, Junior's Town and Country Almanack for 1820. Worcester: Manning & Trumbull for Geo. A. Trumbull.
24 ll. A.A.S.
The last of the Thomas series.

- 1820 No. XXVIII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1820.
By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: West, Richardson
& Lord.
74 ll. A.A.S.
- 1821 No. 1. The Christian Almanack for 1821. Boston:
Published by Lincoln & Edmands.
24 ll. A.A.S.
The first issue.
- 1821 No. XIII. The Clergyman's Almanack for 1821.
Boston: Published for the Author by Munroe &
Francis.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1821 No. 17. Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1821. By
John M. Howe, Philom. Enfield.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1821 The Massachusetts Agricultural Almanack for 1821.
By John M. Howe, Philom. Enfield.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1821 No. LVIII. Low's Almanack for 1821. By Nathaniel
Low. Boston: Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1821 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calen-
dar for 1822. Boston: Richardson & Lord, and
James Loring.
161 ll. A.A.S.
- 1821 The Miniature Almanack for 1821, Boston: West,
Richardson & Lord, and Charles Ewer.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1821 No. XXIX. The Farmer's Almanack for 1821. By
Robert B. Thomas. Boston: West, Richardson &
Lord.
24 ll. A.A.S.
A variation in imprint.
- 1821 Town and Country Almanack, or Complete Farmer's
Calendar for 1821. Worcester: Manning & Trumbull,
for George A. Trumbull.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1822 No II. Vol. 1. The Christian Almanack for 1822.
Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.
24 ll. A.A.S.

- 1822 No. XIV. The Clergyman's Almanack for 1822.
Boston: Published for the Author by Munroe &
Francis.
24 ll. A.A.S.
The last of this series.
- 1822 No. 18. Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1822. By J. M.
Howe, Philom. Enfield.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1822 No. LIX. Low's Almanack for 1822. By Nathaniel
Low. Boston: Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1822 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calen-
dar for 1822. Boston: James Loring, and Richardson
& Lord.
115 ll. A.A.S.
- 1822 Miniature Almanack for 1822. Boston: Richardson &
Lord.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1822 No. XXX. The Farmer's Almanack for 1822. By
Robert B. Thomas. Boston: West, Richardson &
Lord.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1822 Town and Country Almanack for 1822. Worcester:
Manning & Trumbull, for Geo. A. Trumbull.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1823 No. III Vol. I. The Christian Almanack for 1823.
Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1823 No. 19. Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1823. By
J. M. Howe, Philom. Enfield.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1823 No. LX. Low's Almanack for 1823. By Nathaniel
Low. Boston: Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1823 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calen-
dar for 1823. Boston: Richardson & Lord, and
James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1823 Miniature Almanack for 1823. Boston: Lord & Richard-
son.
20 ll. A.A.S.

- 1823 No. XXXI. The Farmer's Almanack for 1823. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Richardson & Lord.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1824 No. IV. Vol. I. The Christian Almanack for 1824. Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1824 No. 20. Howes Genuine Almanac for 1824. By Philo Astronomiae. Enfield.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1824 No. LXI. Low's Almanack for 1824. By Nathaniel Low, M. D. Boston: Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1824 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1824. Boston; Richardson & Lord, and James Loring.
125 ll. A.A.S.
- 1824 Miniature Almanack for 1824. Boston: Richardson & Lord.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1824 Sheet Almanack for 1824, together with the Declaration of Independence. Boston: Moore & Prowse.
Size 25 x 20 inches. B.P.L.
- 1824 No. XXXII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1824. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Richardson & Lord.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1825 No. 1. The Mechanics Almanac, and Astronomical Ephemeris for 1825. By Benjamin Badger, Jun. Boston: Stone & Fovell.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1825 No. V. Vol. 1. The Christian Almanack for 1825. Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1825 The Christian Calendar and New-England Farmer's Almanack for 1825. Boston: Thomas G. Wells.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1825 No. 21. Howe's Genuine Almanac for 1825. By I. M. Howe, Philom. Enfield.
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1825 No. LXII. Low's Almanack for 1825. By Nathaniel Low, M. D. Boston: Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. A.A.S.

- 1825 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1825. Boston: Richardson & Lord, and James Loring.
125 ll. A.A.S.
- 1825 Miniature Almanack for 1825. Boston: Richardson & Lord.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1825 Vol. II. No. 1. The Farmer's Almanack for 1825. By Thomas Spofford. Haverill:
No copy seen, but very probable.
- 1825 No. XXXIII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1825. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Richardson & Lord.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1826 No. 2. The Mechanics Almanack for 1826. By Benjamin Badger, Jun. Boston: Howe & Norton.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1826 Bancroft's Agricultural Almanack for 1826. By Luther S. Bancroft. East Chelmsford, E. W. Reinhardt.
30 ll. A.A.S.
- 1826 No. VI. Vol. I. The Christian Almanack for 1826. Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1826 The Christian Calendar and New-England Farmer's Almanack for 1826. Boston: Christian Register Office.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1826 No. 22. The Freemason's Almanac for 1826. By Philo Astronomiae. Enfield.
12 ll. A.A.S.
The last of the Howe almanacs.
- 1826 No. LXIII. Low's Almanack for 1826. By Nathaniel Low, M. D. Boston: Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1826* The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1826. Boston: Richardson & Lord, and James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1826 Miniature Almanack for 1826. Boston: Richardson & Lord.
20 ll. A.A.S.

- 1826 Vol. II. No. 2. The Whole No. X. Farmer's Almanack and Annual Register for 1826. By Thomas Spofford. Haverill: Published by T. Carey.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1826 No. XXXIV. The Farmer's Almanack for 1826. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Richardson & Lord.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1827 (No. 2.) Bancroft's Agricultural Almanack for 1827. By Luther S. Bancroft. Andover: B. Flagg & Gould.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1827 No. VII. Vol. I. The Christian Almanack for 1827. Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1827 The Christian Calendar and New-England Farmer's Almanack for 1827. Boston: Christian Register Office.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1827 No. LXIV. Low's Almanack for 1827. By Nathaniel Low, M. D. Boston. Munroe & Francis.
18 ll. A.A.S.
The last issue of the Low series.
- 1827 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1827. Boston: Richardson & Lord, and James Loring.
125 ll. A.A.S.
- 1827 Miniature Almanack for 1827. Boston: Richardson & Lord.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1827 Vol. II. No. 3. An Almanack for 1827. By Thomas Spofford.
No copy seen.
- 1827 No. XXXV. The Farmer's Almanack for 1827. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Richardson & Lord.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1827 Number VIII. The Farmer's, Mechanic's and Gentleman's Almanack for 1827. By Nathan Wild. Wendell: J. Metcalf.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1828 No. 3. Bancroft's Agricultural Almanack for 1828. By Luther S. Bancroft. Boston: Hillard, Gray, Little & Wilkins.
24 ll. A.A.S.

- 1828 Vol. I. No. VIII. The Christian Almanac for 1828.
Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1828 The Christian Calendar and New-England Farmer's
Almanack for 1828. Boston: Christian Register,
Office.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- A variation of above.
- 1828 The New England Farmer's Almanac for 1828. By
Thomas Green Fessenden, Boston: John B. Russell.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- The first issue.
- Also a variation of the above.
- A.A.S.
- 1828 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calen-
dar for 1828. Boston: Richardson & Lord, and
James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1828 Miniature Almanack for 1828. Boston: Richardson
& Lord.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1828 The New England Almanack, and Masonic Calendar
for 1828. Boston: Marsh and Capen.
30 ll. A.A.S.
- 1828 Vol. 2. No. 4. The Yankee. The Farmer's Almanack
and Annual Register for 1828. By Thomas Spofford.
Boston: David Felt & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1828 No. 1. The Berkshire Agricultural Almanack for 1828.
By Henry K. Strong. Pittsfield: M. Spooner.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1828 No. XXXVI. The Farmer's Almanack for 1828.
By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Richardson & Lord.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1828 Number IX. The Farmer's, Mechanics and Gentle-
man's Almanack for 1828. By Nathan Wild.
Wendell: J. Metcalf.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1829 Vol. II. No. 1. The Christian Almanac for 1829.
Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- A variation of above.

- 1829 The Christian Calendar and New-England Farmer's Almanack for 1829. Boston: Christian Register Office.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1829 (No. 1.) The New England Anti-Masonic Almanac for 1829. By Edward Giddings. Boston: Anti-masonic Free Press.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1829 The New England Farmer's Almanac for 1829. By Thomas Green Fessenden. Boston: John B. Russell.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1829 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1829. Boston: Richardson & Lord, and James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1829 Miniature Almanack for 1829. Boston: Richardson & Lord.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1829 The New England Almanack and Masonic Calendar for 1829. Boston: Marsh & Capen.
30 ll. A.A.S.
- 1829 The Yankee. The Farmer's Almanack, and Annual Register for 1829. By Thomas Spofford. Boston: David Felt & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1829 No. XXXVII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1829. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Richardson & Lord.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1829 The Youth's Almanack for 1829. Brookfield. E. & G. Merriam; Boston: Pierce & Williams.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1829 Number X. The Farmer's, Mechanic's, and Gentleman's Almanack for 1829. By Nathan Wild. Wendell: J. Metcalf.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1830 The American Almanac and Respository of Useful Knowledge for 1830. Boston: Published by Charles Bowen.

A second edition of this volume (I) was printed in 1833, and a third edition in 1839. The work was originated by Jared Sparks, who issued the first volume.

- 1830 Vol. II. No. 2. The Christian Almanac for 1830. Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.

24 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1830 No. III. The New England Farmer's Almanac for 1803. By Thomas G. Fessenden. Boston: Carter & Hendee.

20 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1830 No. 2. The New England Anti-Masonic Almanac for 1830. By Edward Giddings. Boston: John Marsh.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

Three editions were issued.

- 1830 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1830. Boston: Richardson, Lord & Holbrook, and James Loring.

125 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1830 Miniature Almanack for 1830. Boston: Richardson, Lord & Holbrook.

20 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1830 (No. 1). Parker's Miniature Almanack for 1830. Boston: Amos B. Parker.

20 ll. ?

No copy seen.

- 1830 Vol. 2. No. 6. The Yankee, or Farmer's Almanack for 1830. By Thomas Spofford. Boston: Willard Felt & Co.

18 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1830 No. XXXVIII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1830. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston. Richardson, Lord & Holbrook.

20 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1830 The Youth's Almanack for 1830. Brookfield. E. & G. Merriam; Boston: Pierce & Williams.

12 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1830 Number XI. The Farmer's, Mechanic's, and Gentleman's Almanack for 1830. By Nathan Wild. Wendell: J. Metcalf.

24 ll.

A.A.S.

- 1831 The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1831. Boston: Gray & Bowen.
156 ll. A.A.S.
A second edition. A.A.S.
- 1831 The American Comic Almanac for 1831. Boston: Charles Ellms. 1831.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1831 No. 1. The Hampden Almanac, and Housewife's Companion for 1831. By Isaac Bickerstaff Jr., Springfield; Office of Hampden Whig.
No copy seen.
- 1831 Vol. II. No. 3. The Christian Almanac for 1831. Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1831 No. IV. The New England Farmer's Almanac for 1831. By Thomas G. Fessenden. Boston: Carter & Hendee.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1831 Food for Fun, or the Humorist's Almanack for 1831. Boston: E. L. Bell.
28 ll. A.A.S.
- 1831 The New England Anti-Masonic Almanac for 1831. By Edward Giddings. Boston: John Marsh.
12 ll. A.A.S.
Another imprint. E. S. PHELPS.
- 1831 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1831. Boston: James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1831 Miniature Almanack for 1831. Boston: Richardson, Lord & Holbrook.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1831 Vol. 2. Parker's Miniature Almanack for 1831. Boston: Amos B. Parker.
20 ll. ?
No copy seen.
- 1831 The New England Almanac & Methodist Register for 1831. Boston: John Putnam.
30 ll. A.A.S.

- 1831 Vol. 2. No. 7. The Yankee or Farmer's Almanack, for 1831. By Thomas Spofford. Boston: Willard, Felt & Co., and David Felt, N. Y.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1831 No. XXXIX. The Farmer's Almanack for 1831. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Richardson, Lord & Holbrook.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1831 The United States Working Man's Almanack for 1831. Boston: Charles Ellms.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1831 Number XII. The Farmer's, Mechanic's and Gentleman's Almanack for 1831. By Nathan Wild. Amherst: J. S. & C. Adams.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1832 The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1832. Boston: Gray & Bowen.
156 ll. A.A.S.
- 1832 The American Comic Almanac for 1832. Boston: Charles Ellms.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1832 The American Miniature Almanack for 1832. Allen's Edition. Boston: Allen & Co.
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1832 No. 2. The Hampden Almanac, and Housewife's Companion for 1832. By Isaac Bickerstaff, Jr. Springfield: Office of Hampden Whig.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1832 Broad Grins; or Fun for the New Year. 1832. Boston: Arthur Ainsworth.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1832 Vol. II. No. 4. The Christian Almanac for 1832. Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1832 No. V. The New England Farmer's Almanac for 1832. By Thomas G. Fessenden. Boston: Carter, Hendee & Babcock.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1832 No. 4. The New England Anti-Masonic Almanac for 1832. By Edward Giddings. Boston: John Marsh & Co.
12 ll. A.A.S.

- 1832 Vol. I. No. I. The Maine Family Almanack for 1832.
Boston: Allen & Co.
No copy seen.
- 1832 The Massachusetts Almanac, or the Merchants and
Farmers Almanack for 1832. Boston: Allen & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1832 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calen-
dar for 1832. Boston: James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1832 Miniature Almanack for 1832. Boston: Richardson,
Lord & Holbrook.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1832 Vol. 3. Parker's Miniature Almanack for 1832. Boston:
Amos B. Parker.
14 ll. A.A.S.
- 1832 The Yankee, The Farmer's Almanack for 1832. By
Thomas Spofford. Boston: Willard, Felt & Co.;
David Felt, N. Y.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1832 No. XL. The Farmer's Almanack for 1832. By Robert
B. Thomas. Boston: Richardson, Lord & Holbrook.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1832 No. XIII. The Farmer's, Mechanic's, and Gentleman's
Almanack for 1832. By Nathan Wild. Amherst.
J. S. & C. Adams.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- The other numbers of this series were printed in New Hampshire.
- 1833 The American Almanac and Repository of Useful
Knowledge for 1833. Boston: David H. Williams.
156 ll. A.A.S.
- A second edition in 1839.
- 1833 The American Comic Almanac for 1833. Boston:
Willard Felt & Co. and Charles Ellms.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1833 Vol. II. No. 5. The Christian Almanac for 1833.
Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1833 No. VI. The New England Farmer's Almanac for
1833. By Thomas G. Fessenden. Boston: Carter,
Hendee & Co.
20 ll. A.A.S.

- 1833 No. 5. The New England Anti-Masonic Almanac for 1833. By Edward Giddings. Boston: William Souther.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1833 Vol. 1. No. 2. The Maine Family Almanack for 1833. Boston: Allen & Co.
No copy seen.
- 1833 The Massachusetts Family Almanac, or the Merchant's and Farmer's Calendar for 1833. Boston: Allen & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1833 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1833. Boston: James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1833 Miniature Almanack for 1833. Boston: Richardson, Lord & Holbrook.
20 ll. ?
No copy seen.
- 1833 Vol. 4. Parker's Miniature Almanack for 1833. Boston: Amos B. Parker.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1833 The Yankee. The Farmer's Almanack for 1833. By Thomas Spofford. Boston: Willard Felt & Co., and David Felt, N. Y.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1833 No. XLI. The (old) Farmer's Almanack for 1833. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Carter, Hendee & Co.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1834 The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1834. Boston: Charles Bowen.
108 ll. A.A.S.
- 1834 Vol. I. No. 4. The American Comic Almanac for 1834. Boston: Charles Ellms, and Willard Felt.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1834 Vol. II. No. 6. The Christian Almanac for 1834. Boston: Lincoln & Edmands.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1834 No. VII. The New England Farmer's Almanac for 1834. By Thomas G. Fessenden. Boston: Carter Hendee & Co.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- A variation of the above.

- 1834 No. 6. The New England Anti-Masonic Almanac for 1834. By Edward Giddings. Boston: John Marsh.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1834 No. 3 Vol. I. The Maine Family Almanack, or the Merchant's and Farmer's Calendar for 1834. Boston: Allen & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1834 No. 3. Vol. I. The Massachusetts Family Almanac for 1834. Boston: Allen & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1834 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1834. Boston: James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1834 Allen's Edition. The American Miniature Almanack for 1834. Boston: Allen & Co.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1834 Miniature Almanack for 1834. Boston: Carter, Hendee & Co.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1834 The Peoples Almanac for 1834. Boston: Willard Felt & Co., and Charles Ellms.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1834 The Yankee. The Farmer's Almanack for 1834. By Thomas Spofford. Boston: Willard Felt & Co., also David Felt, N. Y.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1834 No. XLII. The (Old) Farmer's Almanack for 1834. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Carter, Hendee & Co.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1834 The United States Comic Almanac for 1834. Boston: Allen & Co.
18 ll. B.P.L.
- 1835 The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1835. Boston: Charles Bowen.
168 ll. A.A.S.
- 1835 Vol. I. No. 5. The American Comic Almanac for 1835. Boston: Charles Ellms.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1835 Vol. II. No. 8. The Christian Almanac for 1835. Boston: Lincoln, Edmands & Co.
24 ll. A.A.S.

- 1835 Finn's Comic Almanac, or United States Calendar for 1835. Boston: Marsh, Capen & Lyon.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1835 No. 7. The New England Anti-Masonic Almanac for 1835. By Edward Giddings. Boston: John Marsh.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1835 No. 4. Vol. I. The Maine Family Almanack for 1835. Boston: Allen & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1835 No. 4. Vol. I. The Massachusetts Family Almanac, or the Merchant's and Farmer's Calendar for 1835. Boston: Allen & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1835 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1835. Boston: James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1835 Allins Edition. The American Miniature Almanack for 1835. Boston: Allen & Co.
13 ll. B.P.L.
- 1835 Miniature Almanack for 1835. Boston: Lemuel Gilliver.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1835 Vol. I. No. 2. People's Almanac for 1835. Boston: Charles Ellms.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1835 The Yankee. The Farmer's Almanack for 1835. By Thomas Spofford. Boston: Lemuel Gulliver.
18 ll. A.A.S.
From this date Spofford's Almanac was printed by D. Felt & Co., N. Y.
- 1835 The Temperance Family Almanack for 1835. Boston: Russell, Odoine & Metcalf.
19 ll. A.A.S.
- 1835 No. XLIII. The (Old) Farmer's Almanack for 1835. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Carter, Hende & Co.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1836 The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1836. Boston: Charles Bowen.
162 ll. A.A.S.

- 1836 The American Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1836. Boston:
Webster & Southard.
24 ll. A.A.S.
The first issue of the Anti-slavery series, by Nathaniel Southard.
- 1836 Vol. 1. No. 6. The American Comic Almanac for
1836. Boston: Charles Ellms.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1836 The American Farmer's Almanac for 1836. Boston:
Allen & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1836 Vol. I. No. I. The Boston Almanac for 1836. Boston:
S. N. Dickinson.
41 ll. A.A.S.
- 1836 Vol. II. No. 9. The Christian Almanac for 1836.
Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln.
24 ll. A.A.S.
A variation of the above.
- 1836 The United States Almanack for 1836. By Marshall
Conant. Boston: Munroe & Francis.
30 ll. A.A.S.
- 1836 No. VIII. Fessenden's New England Farmer's Alma-
nac for 1836. Boston: Allen & Co.
24 ll. A.A.S.
A variation of the above.
- 1836 No. V. Vol. I. The Massachusetts Family Almanac, or
Merchant's and Farmer's Calendar for 1836. Bos-
ton: Allen & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1836 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calen-
dar for 1836. Boston: James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1836 Miniature Almanack for 1836. Boston: Lemuel
Gulliver.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1836 The National Comic Almanac for 1736. (no imprint.)
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1836 Supplement to the New England and New York Law
Register for 1836. Boston: John Hayward.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1836 Peter Parley's Almanac for Old and Young for 1836.
Boston: Samuel Coleman.
48 ll. A.A.S.

- 1836 Vol. I. No. 3. The People's Almanac for 1836. Boston:
Charles Ellms.
24 ll. ?
No copy seen.
- 1836 The Queer Almanac for 1836. Boston: Charles Ellms.
18 ll. B. A. S.
- 1836 No. XLV. The Farmer's Almanack for 1836. By
Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Carter, Hendee & Co.
24 ll. A. A. S.
- 1837 The American Almanac or Repository of Useful
Knowledge for 1837. Boston: Charles Bowen.
162 ll. A. A. S.
- 1837 Vol. I. No. 2. The American Anti-Slavery Almanac
for 1837. Boston: N. Southard & D. K. Hitchcock.
24 ll. A. A. S.
- 1837 Vol. II. No. I. The American Comic Almanac for
1837. Boston: Charles Ellms.
24 ll. A. A. S.
- 1837 The American Farmer's Almanac for 1837. Boston:
Allen & Co.
18 ll. A. A. S.
- 1837 The Boston Almanac for 1837. Boston: S. N. Dickin-
son.
41 ll. A. A. S.
- 1837 Vol. II. No. 10. The Christian Almanac for 1837.
Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln.
24 ll. A. A. S.
- 1837 No. VI. Vol. I. The Massachusetts Family Almanac,
or Merchant's and Farmer's Calendar for 1837. Bos-
ton: Allen & Co.
18 ll. A. A. S.
- 1837 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calen-
dar for 1837. Boston: James Loring.
126 ll. A. A. S.
- 1837 The National Comic Almanac for 1837. [no imprint.]
18 ll. A. A. S.
- 1837 Vol. I. No. 4. People's Almanac for 1837. Boston:
Charles Ellms.
24 ll. A. A. S.
- 1837 Peter Parley's Almanac for Old and Young for 1837.
Boston: Otis, Broaders & Co.
40 ll. A. A. S.

- 1837 Vol. I. No. I. The Diary, or Yeoman's Calendar, etc.
for 1837. By Edward Symes. Lowell. Leonard
Huntress.
16 ll. A.A.S.
Another issue varying in title.
- 1837 No. XLV. The Farmer's Almanack for 1837. By
Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Charles J. Hendee.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1838 Allen's Edition. The American Miniature Almanac
for 1838. Boston: Allen & Co.
13 ll. E.
- 1838 The American Almanac and Repository of Useful
Knowledge for 1838. Boston: Charles Bowen.
168 ll. A.A.S.
- 1838 Vol. I. No. 3. The American Anti-Slavery Almanac
for 1838. Boston: D. K. Hitchcock.
24 ll. A.A.S.
Another impression. By Isaac Knapp.
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1838 Vol. II. No. 2. The American Comic Almanac for
1838. Boston: Thomas Groom.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1838 The American Farmer's Almanac for 1838. Boston:
Allen & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1838 The Boston Almanac for 1838. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
41 ll. A.A.S.
- 1838 Vol. II. No. II. The Christian Almanac for 1838.
Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1838 The Lady's Annual Register [etc.] for 1837. By
Caroline Gilman. Boston: T. H. Carter.
70 ll. A.A.S.
- 1838 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calen-
dar for 1838. Boston: James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1838 The National Comic Almanac for 1838. [no imprint.]
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1838 Vol. I. No. 5. People's Almanac for 1838. Boston:
Charles Ellms.
24 ll. A.A.S.
Two variations.

- 1838 Vol. I. No. 2. The Diary, or Yeoman's Calendar etc. for 1838. By Edward Symes. Lowell: Leonard Huntress.
16 ll. A.A.S.
- 1838 No. XLVI. The Farmer's Almanack for 1838. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Charles J. Hendee.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1838 Turner's Comick Almanack for 1838. Boston: James Huane.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1839 The American Almanac or Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1839. Boston: Charles Bowen.
162 ll. A.A.S.
- There were three editions issued.
- 1839 The Old American Comic Almanac for 1839. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1839 The American Farmer's Almanac for 1839. Boston: Allen & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1839 The Boston Almanac for 1839. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
48 ll. A.A.S.
- 1839 Vol. II. No. 12. The Christian Almanac for 1839. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln.
A variation of the above.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1839 The Lady's Annual Register, etc. for 1839. By Caroline Gilman. Boston: Otis, Broaders & Co.
70 ll. A.A.S.
- 1839 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1839. Boston: James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1839 Allin's Edition. The American Miniature Almanack for 1839. Boston: Allen & Co.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1839 Vol. II. No. 1. The People's Almanac for 1839. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
20 ll. A.A.S.
- 1839 (Vol. 1.) The American Medical Almanac for 1839. By J. C. V. Smith. Boston:
No copy seen.

- 1839 The Temperance Almanac for 1839. Boston: Massachusetts Temperance Union. Whipple & Damrell.
The first issue of this important series, some numbers of which were reprinted in half a dozen other states.
A.A.S.
- 1839 No. XLVII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1839. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: G. W. Palmer & Co.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1840 The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1840. Boston: David H. Williams.
167 ll. A.A.S.
- 1840 The Old American Comic Almanac for 1840. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1840 The American Farmer's Almanac for 1840. Boston: Allen & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1840 The Boston Almanac for 1840. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
41 ll. A.A.S.
- 1840 Boston Comic Almanac for 1840. Boston: James Fisher.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1840 Brown's Improved Almanac for 1840. Boston: Otis, Broaders & Co.
35 ll. A.A.S.
- 1840 The Cultivator Almanac, etc., for 1840. By William Buckminster. Boston: D. H. Williams.
62 ll. A.A.S.
- 1840 Vol. II. No. 13. The Christian Almanac for 1840. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1840 The Ladies Annual Register, etc., for 1840. By Caroline Gilman. Boston: Otis, Broaders & Co.
52 ll. A.A.S.
- 1840 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1840. Boston: James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1840 Vol. II. No. II. The Peoples Almanac for 1840. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
24 ll. A.A.S.

- 1840 The American Medical Almanac for 1840. By J. C. V. Smith. Vol. II. Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lynn & Webb.
76 ll. A.A.S.
- 1840 Vol. I. No. 2. The Temperance Almanac for 1840. Boston: Massachusetts Temperance Union.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1840 Turner's Comick Almanack for 1840. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1840 No. XLVIII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1840. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Jenks & Palmer.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1841 The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1841. Boston: David H. Williams.
156 ll. A.A.S.
- 1841 The New England Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1841. Boston: J. A. Collins.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1841 The Old American Comic Almanack for 1841. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1841 The Boston Almanac for 1841. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
41 ll. A.A.S.
- 1841 Hard Cider and Log Cabin Almanac for 1841. Harrison and Tyler. Boston: James Fisher.
12 ll. B.P.L.
- 1841 The Cultivator's Almanac etc. for 1891. By William Buckminster. Boston: H. B. Williams.
62 ll. A.A.S.
- 1841 The Democrat's Almanac and People's Register for 1841. Boston: E. Littlefield.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1841 The Ladies Annual Register etc., for 1841. Boston: William Crosby and Company.
55 ll. A.A.S.
- 1841 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1841. Boston: James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.

- 1841 Vol. II. No. III. The People's Almanac for 1841.
Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1841 The American Medical Almanac for 1841. By J.
C. V. Smith. Vol. III. Boston: Otis, Broaders &
Co.
76 ll. A.A.S.
- 1841 Vol. I. No. 3. The Temperance Almanac for 1841.
Boston: Whipple & Dumrell.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1841 No. XLIX. The Farmer's Almanac for 1841. By
Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Jenks & Palmer.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1842 The American Almanac and Repository of Useful
Knowledge. Boston: David H. Williams.
164 ll. A.A.S.
- 1842 The Old American Comic Almanac for 1842. Boston:
S. N. Dickinson.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1842 The Boston Almanac for 1842. Boston: S. N. Dickin-
son.
41 ll. A.A.S.
- 1842 Crockett Almanac improved for 1842. Boston:
S. N. Dickinson.
18 ll. A.A.S.
The first of a new series.
- 1842 (No. 1.) The Franklin Almanac for 1842. Boston:
Benj. Adams.
12 ll. ?
No copy seen.
- 1842 The Ladies Annual Register, [etc.] for 1842. Boston:
William Crosby and Company.
54 ll. E.
- 1842 The Lowell Almanac and Pocket Memorandum for
1842. Lowell: A. Upton.
40 ll. A.A.S.
- 1842 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calen-
dar for 1842. Boston: James Loring.
125 ll. A.A.S.
- 1842 Vol. II. No. 4. The People's Almanac for 1842.
Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
24 ll. A.A.S.

- 1842 The Temperance Almanac for 1842. Boston: William S. Damrell.
74 ll. A.A.S.
- 1842 No. L. The Farmer's Almanack for 1842. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Jenks & Palmer.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1842 Turner's Comic Almanac for 1842. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1843 The American Almanac or Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1843. Boston: David H. Williams.
167 ll. A.A.S.
- 1843 The Old American Comic Almanac for 1843. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1843 Crockett Almanac for 1843. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
No copy seen.
- 1843 No. 2. The Franklin Almanac, or Thrifty Annual for 1843. Boston: Benjamin Adams.
12 ll. A.A.S.
- 1843 The Lady's Annual Register etc., for 1843. Boston: William Crosby and Company.
53 ll. A.A.S.
- 1843 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1843. Boston: James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1843 The Temperance Almanac for 1843. Boston: William S. Damrell.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1843 Fisher's Temperance, and Housekeeper's Almanac for 1843. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1843 No. LI. The Farmer's Almanac for 1843. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Jenks & Palmer.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1843 Thomson's Almanac for 1843. By Dr. Samuel Thomson. Boston: For Dr. Samuel Thomson.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1843 Turner's Comic Almanac for 1843. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.

- 1844 The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1843. Boston: David H. Williams.
172 ll. A.A.S.
- 1844 The Old American Comic Almanac for 1844. Boston: Redding & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1844 The Boston Almanac for 1844. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
41 ll. A.A.S.
- 1844 Davy Crockett's Almanac. 1844. Boston: J. Fisher.
16 ll. A.A.S.
- 1844 The Housekeeper's Annual and Ladies' Register for 1844. Boston: J. H. Carter & Company.
48 ll. A.A.S.
- 1844 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1844. Boston: James Loring.
125 ll. A.A.S.
- 1844 The Stove Almanac for 1844. Boston: L. V. Badger.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1844 Vol. I. No. 6. The Temperance Almanac for 1844. Boston: Massachusetts Temperance Union.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1844 No. LII. The Farmer's Almanac for 1844. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Jenks & Palmer.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1844 Turner's Comick Almanack for 1844. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1845 The American Almanac or Register of Useful Knowledge for 1845. Boston: James Munroe & Co.
165 ll. A.A.S.
- 1845 The Old American Comic Almanack for 1845. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1845 The Boston Almanac for 1845. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
41 ll. A.A.S.
- 1845 Davy Crockett's Almanac for 1845. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.

- 1845 Fisher's Comic Almanack for 1845. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1845 The Housekeeper's Annual and Ladies' Register for 1845. Boston: T. H. Carter & Company.
48 ll. A.A.S.
- 1845 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1845. Boston: James Loring.
126 ll. A.A.S.
- 1845 Vol. I. No. 7. The Temperance Almanac for 1845. Boston: Massachusetts Temperance Union.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1845 No. LIII. The Farmer's Almanack for 1845. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Jenks & Palmer.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1845 Turner's Comic Almanac for 1845. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1846 The American Almanac or Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1846. Boston: James Munroe & Co.
166 ll. A.A.S.
- 1846 The Old American Comic Almanac for 1840. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1846 The Boston Almanac for 1846. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
41 ll. A.A.S.
- 1846 Brown's Business Man's Almanac for 1846. Springfield. Benj. L. Brown & Co.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1846 The Congregational Almanac for 1846. Boston: C. C. Dean.
30 ll. A.A.S.
- 1846 Crockett's Almanac for 1846. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1846 Die Darkie's Comic All-my-nig for 1846. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1846 Fisher's Comic Almanac for 1846. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.

- 1846 Honest John's Farmer's Almanac for 1846. By Honest John Smith. Boston: Benj. B. Mussey.
24 ll. A.A.S.
Another impression, "West Brookfield."
- 1846 The Housekeeper's Annual and Ladies Register for 1846. Boston: Crosby & Nichols.
42 ll. A.A.S.
- 1846 The Massachusetts Register and United States Calendar for 1846. Boston: James Loring.
26 ll. A.A.S.
- 1846 Vol. I. No. 1. The Select Manual Almanac, etc., for 1846. By Aaron Maynard. (no imprint.)
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1846 The Odd Fellows Almanac and U. S. Lodge Directory for 1846. Boston: United States Publishing Co.
32 ll. A.A.S.
- 1846 No. LIV. The Farmer's Almanac for 1846. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Jenks & Palmer.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1846 Turner's Comic Almanac for 1846. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1846 The Unitarian Annual Register for 1846. Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols.
30 ll. A.A.S.
- 1847 The American Almanac or Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1847. Boston: James Munroe & Co.
166 ll. A.A.S.
- 1847 The Boston Almanac for 1847. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
41 ll. A.A.S.
- 1847 The Congregational Almanac for 1847. Boston: James French.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1847 Davy Crockett's Almanac for 1847. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1847 No. 1. The Hampden Agricultural Almanac for 1847. Springfield:
No copy seen.

- 1847 Honest John's Farmer's Almanac for 1847. By Honest John Smith. Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey.
24 ll. ? A.A.S.
The same was issued in Worcester, Springfield, and West Brookfield. No copies seen.
- 1847 Loring's Massachusetts Register for 1847. Boston: James Loring.
132 ll. A.A.S.
- 1847 The Massachusetts State Record, and Year Book of General Information for 1847. Boston. James French.
140 ll. A.A.S.
- 1847 No. LV. The Farmer's Almanac for 1847. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Jenks & Palmer.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1847 The Unitarian Annual Register for 1847. Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols.
32 ll. A.A.S.
- 1848 An Almanac, and Business Directory of the Environs of Boston for 1848. By George Adams. Boston: David Clapp.
86 ll. A.A.S.
- 1848 The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1848. Boston: James Munroe & Co.
185 ll. A.A.S.
- 1848 The Boston Almanac for 1848. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
41 ll. A.A.S.
- 1848 The Congregational Almanac for 1848. Boston: James French.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1848 Fisher's Comic Almanac for 1848. Boston: Turner & Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1848 No. 2. The Hampden Agricultural Almanac for 1848. Springfield: Parsons & Co.
17 ll. B.P.L.
- 1848 Honest John's Farmer's Almanac for 1848. By Honest John Smith. Boston: Benjamin B. Mussey.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1848 The same with imprint, "Springfield."
A.A.S.

- 1848 The same with imprint, "Worcester."
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1848 The New Farmer's Almanac for 1848. By A. Maynard.
Boston: Phillips & Sampson.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1848 The Massachusetts State Record and Year Book of
General Information. Boston: James French.
162 ll. A.A.S.
- 1848 No. LVI. The Old Farmer's Almanac for 1848. By
Robert B. Thomas. Boston: Jenks, Palmer & Co.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1848 The Unitarian Congregational Register for 1848.
Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols.
35 ll. A.A.S.
- 1848 The American Almanac and Repository of Useful
Knowledge for 1859. Boston: Charles C. Little
and James Brown.
185 ll. A.A.S.
- 1849 The American Free-Soil Almanac for 1849. Boston:
White, Potter & Wright.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1849 The Boston Almanac for 1849. Boston: S. N. Dickin-
son.
41 ll. A.A.S.
- 1849 The Congregational Almanac for 1849. Boston:
No copy seen.
- 1849 Crockett Almanac for 1849. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1849 Fisher's Comic Almanac for 1849. Boston: James
Fisher.
18 ll. A.A.S.
- 1849 Honest John's Almanac for 1849. By Honest John
Smith. Boston: Benj. B. Mussey.
E. S. PHELPS.
- 1849 The New Farmer's Almanac for 1849. By A. Maynard.
Boston: Phillips & Sampson.
24 ll. A.A.S.
- 1849 The Massachusetts State Record and Year Book of
General Information.
162 ll. A.A.S.

- | | | |
|------|---|--------|
| 1849 | The Boston Miniature Almanac for 1849. Proprietor: Hotchkiss & Co.
16 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1849 | Turner's Comic Almanac for 1849. Boston: James Fisher.
18 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1849 | No. LVII. The Old Farmer's Almanac for 1849. By Robert B. Thomas. Boston. Jenks, Palmer & Co.
24 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1849 | The Unitarian Congregationalist Register for 1849. Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols.
36 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1850 | The American Almanac or Repository of Useful Knowledge for 1850. Boston: Charles C. Little, and James Brown.
179 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1850 | The Boston Almanac for 1850. Boston: S. N. Dickinson.
41 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1850 | Fisher's Comic Almanac for 1850. Boston: William R. Fisher.
18 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1850 | Honest John's Almanac for 1850. By Honest John Smith. Boston: Benj. B. Mussey.
E. S. PHELPS. | |
| 1850 | The New Farmer's Almanac for 1850. By A. Maynard. Boston: Phillips & Sampson.
24 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1850 | The Massachusetts State Record and Year Book of General Information. Boston: James French.
162 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1850 | The Pictorial Lowell Almanac for 1850. Lowell: L. Hedge.
24 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1850 | No. LVIII. The Old Farmer's Almanac for 1850. By Robert B. Thomas Boston: Jenks, Palmer & Co.
24 ll. | A.A.S. |
| 1850 | The Unitarian Congregationalist Register for 1850. Boston: Wm. Crosby & H. P. Nichols.
30 ll. | A.A.S. |

VITCOS, THE LAST INCA CAPITAL.

BY HIRAM BINGHAM,

Director of the Yale Peruvian Expedition.

I.

The origin of the *Yale Peruvian Expedition of 1911* lay in my desire to solve the problem of the last Inca capital and the country occupied by Manco Inca and his successors for thirty-five years after his revolt against Pizarro. On a journey across Peru from Cuzco to Lima on mule-back, in 1909,¹ I had visited Choquequirau, an interesting group of ruins on a ridge surrounded by precipices 6,000 feet above the bottom of the Apurimac valley. The local traditions had it that this place was the home of Manco Inca after he fled from Pizarro's conquering hosts.² It was recorded that he took with him into the fastnesses of Vilcabamba³ a great quantity of treasure, besides his family and courtiers. Nevertheless, Prescott does not mention the name of Vilcabamba, and only says that Manco fled into the most inaccessible parts of the cordillera. When the great Peruvian geographer, Raimondi, visited this region about the middle of the XIX Century no one seems to have thought of telling him there were any ruins in the Vilcabamba valley or indeed in the Uribamba valley below Ollantaytambo. He did, however, remember that the young Inca Manco had established

¹ Described on pp. 280-378 of "Across South America," published in 1911.

² See "The Ruins of Choquequirau." *American Anthropol.* Oct., 1910.

³ It appears to have been customary to speak of the country or place where Manco lived, sometimes as Vitos, sometimes as Vilcabamba. For an instance of the former see: Spain. Ministerio de Fomento. "Relaciones geográficas de Indias." Publicadas el Ministerio de Fomento. *Peru.* Tomo IV. Madrid. 1897. p. 102.

himself in "Vilcabamba," and so he suggests that this "Vilcabamba" must have been in the valley of the Apurimac at Choquequirau. He knew that interesting ruins had been found at this place by the French explorer Sartiges, and were described by him, under the *nom de plume* of *E. Lavandais*, in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" in 1851.⁴

Raimondi's proofs of the coincidence of Choquequirau and Vilcabamba, and indeed one of our chief sources for the historical geography of the region, are to be found in a quaint old folio, written by the Augustinian, Father Calancha, in the XVII Century.⁵ In his very verbose "Coronica Moralizada" he tells of the martyrdom in Vilcabamba of Fray Diego Ortiz, and its causes and consequences. Unfortunately for us, but quite naturally for him, his pages are full of "demonios," and their terrible manifestations. He has little room for geographical detail. But he does say that Pucyura, where the monks had one of their mission stations, was two or three days' journey from Vilcabamba. The present villages of these names are only two leagues apart, and it is evident that Calancha is not speaking of them. Furthermore, Raimondi visited both villages and saw nothing of any ruins in either place.⁶

⁴ See: Lavandais, E. "Voyage dans les Republiques de l'Amérique de Sud. . ." Revue des Deux Mondes, Tome II. 1851.

⁵ Calancha, Antonio de la. "Coronica moralizada del Orden de San Augustin en el Peru." . . . Barcelona: 1638.

⁶ It is evident from the last paragraph of the following quotation from Raimondi that no one told him of the ruins of Rosaspata, near Pucyura: . . . "El padre Calancha dice: 'Edificio Iglesia dos jornadas largas de Vilcabamba en Puquiura, pueblo en que el Rey Inga tenia su Corte y sus ejércitos, siendo este el primer templo.' Las precedentes palabras dan a entender que Puquiura, distaba de Vilcabamba dos jornadas largas, lo que es un error, pues dista apenas dos leguas. Podria ser este un error casual, escribiendo la palabra jornadas en vez de leguas; pero yo creo que Calancha confundio la poblacion de Vilcabamba con el lugar donde residia el Inca, y que, como he dicho, hoy se conocen sus ruinas con el nombre de Choquequirau; pues desde Puc-yura a este lugar, habra cabalmente dos jornadas de camino. Por otra parte, se comprende facilmente, como el padre Calancha haya cometido este error, pues casi todos los autores al hablar del lugar donde se retiro el Inca Manco, dicen que fue en los Andes de Vilcabamba, sin designar la poblacion. *Puc-yura, como se acaba de decir, dista de la poblacion de Vilcabamba unas dos leguas, se halla situada mas abajo en la quebrada, y en la actualidad es un miserable pueblito, que consiste en una pequeña rancheria con una mezquina capilla.*" . . . (Raimondi, Antonio. "El Peru." Tomo II. Lima: 1876. Page 161.)

As the only ruins described in this region were those of Choquequirau, nearly all the Peruvian writers, including the geographer Paz Soldan, have fallen in with Raimondi's idea that this was the refuge of Manco. The word Choquequirau means "cradle of gold." This lent color to the story in the Spanish chronicles that Manco had carried off with him from Cuzco great quantities of gold utensils for use in his new capital.

Personally I did not feel so sure that Choquequirau was the Inca town of Vilcabamba. The ruins did not seem fine enough for an Inca's residence. There were certainly no "sumptuous palaces" all "built of marble." Furthermore, I was very anxious to visit the vicinity of Pucyura and see whether we could not find there stone remains of Inca occupation. No travellers seemed to have visited the ancient province and reported their discoveries, except Raimondi,—and he was not satisfactory. There were rumors of others, however, and the Spanish chroniclers who give in detail the story of the expedition which ultimately captured the last Inca, (Manco's third son, Tupac Amaru), and drove the family out of Vilcabamba, mention a certain number of places inhabited by the Incas.

After my visit to Choquequirau in 1909, an assistant in the National Library at Lima, Carlos A. Romero, published a scholarly paper⁷ on the ruins. He had not visited them, but had looked up all the references to them, and found the first occurrence of the word Choquequirau was as late as 1768. The old name remains to be found. Furthermore Romero pointed out that the proper name for Manco's capital was Viteos. From the contemporary accounts I came to the conclusion that Señor Romero was correct, and that it must be our aim to locate Viteos.

Señor Romero expressed the opinion that Viteos was near Pucyura, but as he had never been far from the

⁷ Romero, Carlos A. "Informe sobre las Ruinas de Choquequirau." Lima: 1909. (Instituto Historico del Peru.)

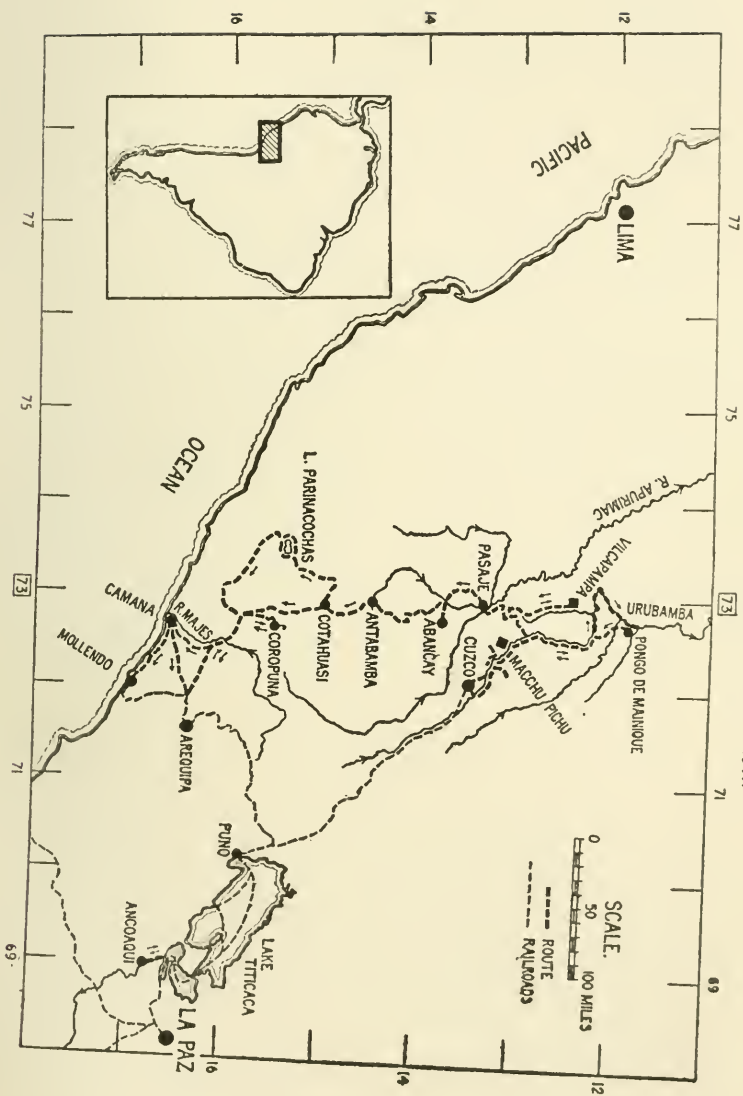
outskirts of Lima, and as Raimondi reported no ruins near Pucyura, we felt very uncertain of our chances. Apparently there is no part of the Inca empire so little known as Vitcos and Vilcabamba. This made me all the more anxious to carry an exploring expedition into the Vilcabamba valley, to see whether ruins could be found which might enable us to understand more clearly the history of the years between Manco's unsuccessful siege of Cuzco in 1536 and the capture of his grandson, Tupac Amaru, in 1571. The stories of the first missionaries who went into this region, and of the expedition that finally captured Tupac Amaru and brought him to Cuzco, contain the names of many places which do not exist on any map to-day. It was in order to elucidate this history, locate the places mentioned in it, and find out what kind of a capital Manco had established in the wilds of Vilcabamba, that the Peruvian Expedition was organized.

II.

Less than a hundred miles north of Cuzco lies the ancient province of Vilcabamba, an almost unexplored labyrinth of snow-clad peaks and deep green valleys. Practically cut off from central Peru by the magnificent canyon of the Apurimac, this mountainous province formed an ideal refuge for the young Inca Manco.

Readers of Prescott's charming classic or of Markham's recent "Incas of Peru," will remember that this unfortunate prince, a son of the great Inca Huayna Capac, was selected by Pizarro and his friends as the most available figurehead to set up as Inca and to rule in accordance with their dictates. His induction into office in 1534 with appropriate ceremonies, the barbaric splendour of which only made the farce the more pitiful, did little to gratify his natural ambition. As might have been foreseen, he chafed under restraint, escaped as soon as possible from his attentive guardians, and raised an army of faithful Quichuas. Then followed the

YALE PERUVIAN EXPEDITION 1911.



PLAN I.

famous siege of Cuzco,⁸ so vividly described by Prescott.

When Cuzco was relieved by Almagro, and Manco's last chance of regaining the ancient capital of his ancestors failed, he retreated in 1536 to the powerful fortress of Ollantaytambo. Here on the banks of the river Urubamba he made a stand. But the peaceful mountain Indians never have made good warriors, and, although aroused to their utmost endeavors by the presence of those magnificent stone edifices which a more energetic race erected more than a thousand years before, they decided to retreat. Driven out of Ollantaytambo, the young Inca Manco fled in a northerly direction, and made good his escape into the fastnesses of Vilcabamba. The Spaniards found his position practically impregnable. Vilcabamba, defended by nature in one of her profoundest moods, was only to be entered by marvelously constructed mountain trails, and by passing over roaring torrents on frail suspension bridges. These trails the energetic Manco found it easy to defend.

For the next ten years he lived and ruled in this wonderful region at a place variously called Vitcos,⁹ Viticos,⁹ Vicos,¹⁰ or Pitcos.⁹ Safe from the armed forces of his enemies and using Vitcos as a base, he was accustomed to sally forth frequently and in unexpected directions. His

⁸ The siege of Cuzco is briefly described by Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman, who took part in it. Of its character he says: "I am able to certify that this was the most fearful and cruel war in the world; for, between the Christians and Moors there is some fellow-feeling, and both sides follow their own interests in sparing those whom they take alive, for the sake of their ransoms; but in this Indian war there is no such feeling on one side or the other, and they give each other the most cruel deaths they can invent." (*Life and Acts of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman*. Translated by Sir Clements R. Markham. p. 101.)

Other accounts of the siege are found in *Prescott*: vol. 2, chap. x. *Helps*: vol. iv, book xvii, chap. iii; *Garc. de Vega*: *Comm. Real*. pt. ii, lib. ii, cap. xxiv; *Herrera*: dec. iv, lib. 11, cap. iii, etc.

⁹All three spellings appear in: Peru. Juicio de Límites entre el Perú y Bolivia. Vol. VII. *Vilcabamba*. As follows. *Vitcos*: pp 200, and 302. *Viticos*. 79; 90; 97; 110; 218; 295; *Pitcos*: 316.

¹⁰For the spelling Vicos see: Pietschmann. "Bericht des Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa über seine Verhandlungen mit dem Inka Titu Cusi Yupanqui in den Anden von Villcapampa," pp. 94 and 97.

raids were usually successful. It was his custom to announce that they were in the nature of attempts to take vengeance on the Spaniards for what they had done to him and his family. It appears to have been relatively easy for him to cross the Apurimac from Vitcos and attack persons travelling on the great road from Lima to Cuzco. It was in order to make this road secure for travellers that Ayacucho was founded by Pizarro.

The contemporary account of Manco's life in Vitcos, written in 1550 by Cieza de Leon, is the best and most graphic that we possess. (I quote from Sir Clements Markham's translation):

"After the war at Cuzco between the Indians and the Spaniards, the King Manco Ynca, seeing that he could not recover the city of Cuzco, determined to retire into the provinces of Viticos, which are in the most retired part of these regions beyond the great Cordillera of the Andes. . . ."¹¹

"When it was known that Manco Ynca entertained this intention, many of the Orejones of Cuzco (the nobility of that city) wished to follow him. Having reached Viticos with a great quantity of treasure,¹² collected from various parts, together with his women

¹¹ Compare another account by the same author, as follows: ". . . con algunos que le siguieron é sus mujeres é sirvientes, é todo su tesoro, que no era poco, se fué á meter en las provincias de Viticos, que están metidas á la parte de Mediodía é más adentro de los Andes, porque allí le pareció estaria seguro de los cristianos, sus enemigos, é no oirian los relinchos y bufidos de sus caballos, ni las tajantes espadas cortarían más en sus carnes." . . . (Cieza de Leon, Pedro: "Guerras civiles del Perú. I. Guerra de Las Salinas." In Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la historia de España. Tomo LXVIII pp. 337-338.)

¹² Compare also Cieza's other account in "Guerra de Las Salinas," (Col. de documentos inéd. para la hist. de España, p. 338:— ". . . "Los indios é más principales orejones, que allí al presente estaban, alegremente oyeron á Mango Inga, é luego se aparejaron para ir en voluntario destierro en aquella parte é provincias que arriba hemos dicho, é no sin gran aflicción de todos ellos acondándose de los placeres é deleites que habían tenido en el Cuzco y en las más partes de este reino. Llevaba Mango Inga muy gran cantidad de tesoro, é muchas cargas de rica ropa de lana delgada é muy vistosa; é con todo ello se metió en los Andes é allegó á Viticos, donde hizo su asiento en la comarca que tiene agora la ciudad de Guanuco. Hay grandes provincias é muchos indios, é andaba hecho tirano un Villatopa, de linaje de los Ingas, é habia juntado á sí muchos de los orejones, é obediéndole por capitán andaba maltratando á los naturales é arruinandoles sus pueblos."

and retinue, the King Manco Ynca established himself in the strongest place he could find, whence he sallied forth many times, and in many directions, to disturb those parts which were quiet, and to do what harm he could to the Spaniards, whom he considered as cruel enemies. They had, indeed, seized his inheritance, forcing him to leave his native land, and to live in banishment. These and other things were published by Manco Ynca and his followers, in the places to which they came for the purpose of robbing and doing mischief. As in these provinces no Spanish city had been built, the natives were given in *encomienda*, some to citizens of Cuzco, and others to those of the City of the Kings. Thus the Indians of Manco Ynca were able to do much harm to the Spaniards and to the friendly Indians, killing and robbing many of them.¹³

"These things rose to such a height that the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro sent captains against Manco Ynca. The factor Yllan Suarez de Carbajal, by order of the Marquis, set out from Cuzco and sent the captain Villa-diego to reconnoitre with a force of Spaniards, for there was news that the Ynca was not far distant from the place where he was encamped. Notwithstanding that they were without horses (which is the most important arm against these Indians), they pressed on because they were confident in their strength, and desired to enjoy the spoils of the Ynca, thinking that he had his women and treasures with him. They reached the summit of a mountain,¹⁴ fatigued and exhausted, when

¹³ "El rey Mango Inga Yupangui, habiéndose retirado á las espesuras de los Andes con los orejones é capitanes viejos que habian tratado la guerra con los españoles, é como no se hobiese fundada la ciudad de San Juan de la Vitoria de Guamanga, é los contratantes de Los Reyes é de otras partes iban con sus mercaderías al Cuzco, salian á ellos, é despues de les haber robado su hacienda los mataban, llevando vivos á algunos si les parecia, é hechas las cabalgadas se volvian á Viticos, principal asiento, é á los cristianos que llevaban vivos, en presencia de sus mujeres les daban grandes tormentos, vengando en ellos su injuria como si su fortuna pudiera ser mayor, é los mandaban empalar metiéndoles por las partes inferiores agudas estacas que les salian por las bocas; é causó tanto miedo saber estas nuevas, que muchos que tenian negocios privados é áun que tocaban á la gobernacion no osaban ir al Cuzco, si no fuesen acompañados y bien armados. . . ." Cieza de Leon: "Guerra de Las Salinas." In Col. de Documentos inéd. para la historia de España, Tomo LXVIII, p. 424.)

¹⁴ The mountain here spoken of is very likely one of the lofty passes from the Urubamba valley near Panticalla or Lares.

the Ynca, with little more than eighty Indians, attacked the Christians, who numbered twenty-eight or thirty, and killed the captain Villa-diego, and all his men, except two or three, who escaped with the aid of the friendly Indians. These fugitives presented themselves to the factor, who deeply felt the misfortune.¹⁵ When the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro heard of it, he hastily set out from the city of Cuzco with a body of men, who had orders to pursue Manco Ynca. But this attempt also failed, for the Ynca retreated to his settlement at Vitcos, with the heads of the Christians. Afterwards the captain Gonzalo Pizarro undertook the pursuit of the Ynca, and occupied some of his passes and bridges. At last, as the evils done by the Indians had been great, the governor Don Francisco Pizarro, with the assent of the royal officers who were with him, determined to form a settlement¹⁶ between Cuzco and Lima (which is the City of the Kings), so as to make the road secure for travellers."¹⁷ ¹⁸

Garcillasso Inca de la Vega, born in Peru, 1539, a younger contemporary, gives this account of his cousin Manco's marauding expeditions during the years 1536-1546, while he was a boy living in Cuzco. (I quote from Sir Paul Rycaut's translation.)¹⁹

"Many years past, in the Time of his Father, Manco Inca, several Robberies were committed on the road by his Subjects: but still they had that respect to the

¹⁵ For a more detailed account of this affair see: Cieza de Leon: "Guerra de Las Salinas," *In* Coleccion de Documentos inéd. para la historia de España, Tomo LXVIII, pp. 425-431.—"Como Villadiego con los treinta cristianos fueron en seguimiento del Inga sin querer aguardar los caballos ni enviar aviso al Fator, é de cómo yendo muy cansados é fatigados, Mango Inga salió con ochenta indios é mató veinte é cuatro cristianos é los demas escaparon huyendo." (p. 427.)

¹⁶ This city was later called Ayacucho.

¹⁷ The Travels of Pedro de Cieza de Leon. ed. by Markham, London: 1864, pp. 304-306.

¹⁸ See also: Cieza de Leon: "Guerra de Las Salinas," *In* Col. de documentos inéd. para la historia de España, Tomo LXVIII, pp. 440-443.—"De como el Gobernador D. Francisco Pizarro estando en la ciudad del Cuzco tuvo nueva de la muerte del capitán Villadiego y de los otros españoles, é de como salió de aquella ciudad para se juntar con el Fator, é de la fundacion de la ciudad de Guamanga." (p. 440.)

¹⁹ Garcillasso de la Vega, el Inca: "The Royal Commentaries of Peru, in two parts. . . rendered into English by Sir Paul Rycaut." London: 1688. p. 1009-1010.

Spanish Merchants, that they let them go free, and never pillag'd them of their Wares and Merchandise, which were in no manner useful to them; Howsoever they robbed the Indians of their Cattel bred in the Countrey, which they drove to the Markets, being enforced thereunto more out of necessity than choice; for their Inca living in the Mountains, which afforded no tame Cattel; and only produced Tigers, and Lions, and Serpents of twenty five and thirty Foot long, with other venomous Insects (of which we have given a large account in this History) his Subjects were compelled for the natural sustenance of their Prince, to supply him with such Food as they found in the hands of the Indians; which the Inca Father of this Prince did usually call his own, saying, That he who was Master of that whole Empire might lawfully challenge such a proportion thereof as was convenient to supply his necessary and natural support. But this passed only in the time of this Inca, and as I remember when I was a Child, I heard of three or four such Robberies, which were committed by the Indians."

The method of warfare and the weapons used by Manco and his followers at this time are thus described by a contemporary soldier, Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman,²⁰ who fought against Manco. He says the Indians had no defensive, but many offensive arms, "such as lances, arrows, clubs, axes, halberds, darts, and slings, and another weapon which they call ayllas, consisting of three round stones sewn up in leather, and each fastened to a cord a cubit long. They throw these at the horses, and thus bind their legs together; and sometimes they will fasten a man's arms to his sides in the same way. These Indians are so expert in the use of this weapon, that they will bring down a deer with it in the chase. Their principal weapon, however, is the sling, which I have delayed mentioning to the last. With it they will hurl a huge stone with such force that it will

²⁰ *Life and Acts of Don Alonzo Enriquez de Guzman*, translated by Sir Clements R. Markham. p. 101.

kill a horse; in truth, the effect is little less great than that of an arquebus; and I have seen a stone, thus hurled from a sling, break a sword in two pieces, which was held in a man's hand at a distance of thirty paces. The Indians also adopted the following stratagem: they made an endless number of deep holes, with stakes bristling in them, and covered over with straw and earth. The horses often fell into them; and the rider was generally killed."

Father Calancha, who published in 1639 his *Moral Chronicle* of the missionary activities of the Augustinians in Peru, devotes his fourth book largely to the Vitcos country and to Fray Diego Ortiz, who was martyred there. Father Calancha, (p. 792) adds in regard to Manco that after his attempt to regain Cuzco failed he "retired to the jungles and Andes of Vilcabamba, where he fortified himself, cutting bridges, blocking up passes, and stationing in the forests and on the mountain-sides armies of Indians, who, by throwing down boulders and quantities of rocks, rendered passing impossible. He gathered in Spanish fugitives, rascals worthy of his favor, obliging them to become declared enemies of our King and Queen. Gonzalo Pizarro entered [Vilcabamba] with three hundred men, and although he was unable to accomplish much of importance, returned from the jungles after losing many of his soldiers owing to the ruggedness of the land. The same thing happened to Rodrigo Ordoñez, who was sent by Diego de Almagro. Safe in that province, and obeyed by all the provinces, which in that region extend for two hundred leagues and more toward the east, and toward the south, where there were innumerable Indians in various provinces, Mañaries, Momoris, Sapacaties, and others, [the Inca] compelled the baptized Indians, who had fled from those provinces where the Spaniards govern, to abandon their faith, by torturing the Indians who after baptism did not worship the idols that he held."²¹

²¹ Calancha, Antonio de la. "Coronica moralizada del Orden de San Augustin en el Peru, con sucesos egeplares en esta Monarquia. . ." Barcelona: 1638. Tomo I, p. 792-793:—(The text reads)—

This last story need not be taken too literally. It was a favorite trick of monastic writers to accuse heathen of torturing Christians.

Our account of what happened in Vitcos under the rule of Manco is rather meager. We do know, however, that he was kept well informed by Indian spies of what went on in the Viceroyalty. Perhaps the most exciting news that reached Vitcos was in regard to the New Laws. These "new laws" were the result of the efforts of the good bishop Las Casas to alleviate the sufferings of the Indians. They provided, among other things, that all the officers of the crown were to renounce their *repartimientos* or holdings of Indians, and that personal service of the natives was to be entirely abolished.²² Holdings given to the conquerors were not to pass to their heirs, but were to revert to the king. In other words they gave evidence that the Spanish crown wished to be kind to the Indians, and did not approve of the action of the conquistadores. This was pleasant news for Manco. But the attempt in 1544 to introduce these laws into Peru, where the first Viceroy, Blasco Nuñez de Vela, undertook to execute them, was disastrous. The resistance took the form of a far-reaching rebellion, led by Gonzalo Pizarro, which resulted in the death of the Viceroy and the temporary suppression of all Spanish authority. Garcilasso de la Vega relates the story of how Manco heard the story and discussed it with

"Este Mancocapac des-pues del alçamiento general con que al-borotò este Reyno, i le tuvo a punto de recobrar, en que se derramò tanta sangre de Indios i Españoles, se retirò a las montañas, i Andes de Vilcabamba, donde se fortificò cortando puentes, cerrando pa-sos, i poniendo sobre montes i laderas e-gercitos de Indios, que derribando gal-gas, i multitud de medias peñas, azian in-possible el pasage, recogia Españoles fu-gitivos, que delin-quentes se valian de su anparo, obligandolos a que fuesen ene-migos declarados contra nuestros Reyes. Gonçalo Pizarro entrò con trecientos onbres, i no aviendo obrado cosa de in-portancia, bolvió a salir de las montañas perdiendo muchos de sus soldados en las asperezas, i lo mismo le sucedio a Ro-drigo Ordoñez enbiado por Diego de Almagro. Asegurado ya en aquella Pro-vincia, i obedeciendole todas las Provin-cias, que por aquella parte se estienden docientas leguas i mas ázia el Oriente, i ázia el Sur, donde avia innumer-ables In-dios en varias Provincias, Manaries, Mo-moris, Sapacaties, i otras diversas, azia a-postatar a los Indios bautizados, que se huian destas Provincias donde los Espa-ñoles governavan, atormentando a los Indios, que despues del bautismo no a-doravan los Idolos que el tenia." (From Chap. 2.)

²² Moses, Bernard. "Establishment of Spanish rule in America." N. Y. and Lond. 1898. pp. 99-102.

several Spanish refugees whom Calancha speaks of as "fugitive Spanish rascals," adherents of Almagro who had fled from the power of the Pizarros and taken up their abode with him in Viteos. (I quote from Sir Paul Rycaut's translation, London: 1688.)²³

"And here it is to be noted; That Diego Mandez and Gomez Perez, with six other Spaniards whom we formerly nominated, and mentioned to have made their escape out of prison, where they had been confined by the faction of the Pizarros, and by the Justice of Vaca de Castro; and having taken refuge with this Inca, they by his means came to know and receive all the Informations and Advices concerning the new Troubles and Dissensions arising upon the execution of the new Laws: for whereas it was reported that the Vice-king came to turn all things upside down, and to change and alter all the Constitutions of the Countrey; the Inca, who was encompassed within the craggy and lofty mountains, was informed by his Subjects of all these revolutions which he thought might be of benefit and concernment to him.

"With this news Diego Mendez and his Companions were highly pleased and persuaded the Inca to write a Letter to the Vice-king, desiring his Licence to be enlarged from his retirement, and appear in his presence, and serve his Majesty in any thing, as occasion should offer: the Inca was induced at the persuasion of the Spaniards to make this Petition, who told him, that it might be a means to open a way to his recovery of the whole Empire, or at least of the best part of it. The Spaniards also wrote as from themselves desiring a pardon for what was past, and a protection or safe conduct in the attendance of his Lordship, to perform their duty to him.

"Gomez Perez was the person appointed and elected to be Ambassadour from the Inca, attended with 10 or 12 Indians, who by command of the Inca were ordered

²³ Garcilasso de la Vega, *el Inca*: "The Royal Commentaries of Peru, in two parts . . . rendered into English by Sir Paul Rycaut. London: 1688. pp. 671-673.

to doe him service. And being come to the Vice-king, he presented his Letters of Credence to him, giving him a large relation of the State and Condition of the Inca, and of his true and real designs to doe him service. The Vice-king joyfully received the news, and granted a full and ample pardon of all crimes, as desired.²⁴ And as to the Inca he made many kind expressions of love and respect, truly considering that the Interest of the Inca might be advantageous to him, both in War and Peace. And with this satisfactory Answer Gomez Perez returned both to the Inca and to his companions..."

The refugees were delighted with the news and got ready to go. Their departure from Vitcos was prevented by an unfortunate accident, the result of a quarrel, thus described by Garcilasso:

"The Inca, to humour the Spaniards and entertain himself with them, had given directions for making a bowling-green; where playing one day with Gomez Perez; he came to have some quarrel and difference with this Perez about the measure of a Cast, the which often happened out between them; for this Perez, being a person of a hot and fiery brain, without any judgment or understanding, would take the least occasion in the world to contend with and provoke the Inca; who notwithstanding, being a very discreet person and of good temper, did moderate and disguise his passion, and would not refuse to play with him, as he did with other Spaniards, who were more obliging, and less offensive in their gaming: but Gomez Perez, being puffed up with the late favors he had received from the Vice-king, and with the hopes he had in a short time to disengage himself from that place, became more rude and insolent towards the Inca than he had formerly been; treating him with the same terms that he did those poor Indians who were

²⁴ Compare with the following from Calancha: *Coronica Moralizada*. 1638. Tomo I, p. 793: "Tratò de pazes el Virrey Blasco Nuñez Vela valiendose de medios prudentiales, i de promesas, con seguros de rentas i seño-rios. Enbiò el Inga a que las asentase a un soldado de los q̄ se huyeron de la carcel del Cuzco, llamado Gomez Perez. Assen-tò la paz, i fue una de las codiciones, que perdonase el Rey a los Españoles delin-quentes, que tenia en Vilcabauba fugitivos. . . ."

his servants and slaves. At length Gomez Perez became so intolerably insolent, that, playing one day with the Inca, he so affronted him, that, being no longer able to endure his rudeness, he punched him on the breast, and bid him to consider with whom he talked. Perez, not considering in his heat and passion either his own safety or the safety of his Companions, lifted up his hand, and with the Bowl struck the Inca so violently on the head, that he knocked him down.²⁵ The Indians hereupon, being enraged by the death of their Prince, joined together against Gomez and the Spaniards, who fled into a house, and with their Swords in their hands defended the door, the Indians set fire to the house, which being too hot for them, they sallied out into the Market-place, where the Indians assaulted them and shot them with their Arrows untill they had killed every man of them: and then afterwards, out of mere rage and fury they designed either to eat them raw as their custome was, or to burn them and cast their ashes into the river, that no sign or appearance might remain of them; but at length, after some consultation, they agreed to cast their bodies into the open fields, to be devoured by Vultures and birds of the air, which they supposed to be the highest indignity and dishonour that they could show to their Corps.

"This was the fate and unhappy destiny of the poor Prince Manco Inca, to perish by the hands of one whom he had protected, and nourished and entertained with all the hospitality he could show: thus we see, when a man's time is come, that neither his voluntary exile, nor the inaccessible rocks to which he was fled for refuge, were

²⁵ For another account of the death of Manco, suggesting that the game was chess, and not bowls, see: Coleccion de documentos inéditos del Archivo de Indias, Vol. VIII, page 264, where the anonymous author of "De virreyes y gobernadores del Perú. *Virrey D. Francisco de Toledo*," says: ". . . El Inga estaba muy aespañolado, y sabia los juegos que los españoles jugaban, que entonces eran bolos, tablas y el agedrez. Y estando un día juugado con el capitan Diego Mendez, tuvieron sobre el juego, que unos decian, era el agedrez, otros los bolos, diferencia, de manera, que con cólera y poco entendimiento y menos reportacion, dijo el huésped al Inga y señor: "Miren el perro!" Y el Inga alzó la mano y dióle un bofetón. El capitan metió mano de una daga y dióle de puñaladas, de que luego murió. . ."

able to defend him from the stroke of a rash fool and mad-man, who was destitute of all sense and reason. . . I have informed myself very perfectly from those Incas, who were present and eye-witnesses of the unparalleled piece of madness of that rash and hair-brained fool; and heard them tell this story to my Mother and Parents with tears in their eyes. . . ."²⁶

This unfortunate event, which seems to have occurred about 1545, brought to an abrupt close the reign of this most attractive and vigorous personality.

The Inca Manco left three young sons, Sayri Tupac, Titu Yupanqui, and Tupac Amaru.²⁷ Sayri Tupac became Inca in his father's stead, and with the aid of regents, reigned in Vitcos for ten years without disturbing his Spanish neighbors or being annoyed by them. We know little of what happened in Vitcos during this decade.

In 1555 a new viceroy, Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Cañete, came to Lima.²⁸ He decided that it would be safer if he could have the young Inca within reach instead of living in the inaccessible wilds of Vilcabamba. It was a difficult matter. The viceroy very wisely undertook to accomplish it through the princess Beatrix Coya, an aunt of the Inca who was living in Cuzco and who might be expected to be glad to see her nephew in that city, even though she could not expect that he would be restored to his empire. She took kindly to the viceroy's suggestion and dispatched to Vitcos a messenger who was of the blood royal, attended by Indian servants. He had great difficulty in his journey, for he met with bad bridges and hilly roads. Finally he arrived where were the guards on the frontiers and gave them notice of the official message which he had for the Inca. Then there was held a meeting of the

²⁶ "The Royal Commentaries of Peru, in two parts. . . written originally in Spanish, by the Inca Garcilasso de la Vega, and rendered into English, by Sir Paul Rycaut. London: 1688. Part II. Chap. VI. p. 673.

²⁷ Markham: "Incas of Peru," p. 259.

²⁸ Markham: "Incas of Peru." p. 273.

Captains and Regents who as Tutors ruled the young Inca who had not at that time reached the age when he could assume the Red Fringe "which is their royal crown."²⁹

The regents, on receiving this courteous message and cordial invitation were not inclined to believe that it was quite so attractive as appeared on the surface, even though it was brought to them by a kinsman. Accordingly they kept the ambassadors as hostages and sent a messenger of their own to Cuzco to see if he could discover any foul play, and also to request that one John Sierra, a trusted cousin, be sent to treat in this matter.

All this took time, and the viceroy, becoming impatient, despatched from Lima a Dominican friar, named Melchior de los Reyes, and with him a citizen of Cuzco, named John Betanzos, who had married an Inca princess, the daughter of the unfortunate Atahualpa. This John Betanzos pretended to be very learned in his wife's language, and for this reason, and because he was related to the Inca, he started off quite confidently for Vitcos. After leaving Lima they did not go via Cuzco, but turned aside near Ayacucho, as that was the nearest of any of the entrances to Vitcos.³⁰ But apparently the Inca's generals, fearing lest the Spaniards should use this road to make a sudden attack, had destroyed the bridges across the Apurimac and made it impossible for anyone to reach Vitcos that way. Betanzos tried another route by a road leading from the town of Andahuaylas, but here also was disappointed, and finally had to go to Cuzco. His zeal was not appreciated by the governor of Cuzco, who feared it might interfere with the success of the measures which he himself had undertaken in order to carry out the wishes of the viceroy. Accordingly the governor requested Friar Melchior and John Betanzos to wait and go with John Sierra, whose presence had been requested by the Inca. This was agreed upon,

²⁹ Garcilasso: *Hist. Gen.* Madrid: 1772. (p. 474.)

³⁰ Garcilasso de la Vega: *Hist. Gen.* Madrid: 1722. p. 474.

but they got restless in Cuzco and left the city, promising to wait for the embassy on the road. Their real purpose, however, was to secure the honor of being the first ambassadors to reach the Inca, and they travelled as fast as they could to the Chuqui-chaca bridge, which is the key to Vilcabamba on the east side. Here they were detained by the Inca's soldiers.

A day or so later John Sierra, accompanied by the messenger sent by the Inca to Cuzco, arrived at the bridge and was allowed to proceed, while the friar and Betanzos were still detained. John Sierra was welcomed by the Inca and his friends, and did his best to encourage Sayri Tupac to accept the viceroy's offer. After he had delivered the message, Betanzos and the friar were also sent for, and admitted to the presence of the Inca. They brought with them several pieces of velvet and damask, and two cups of silver gilded, together with other presents which the viceroy supposed the Inca would be glad to have. The Inca's first decision was that he would have nothing to do with the viceroy, but remain free and independent of him as he had hitherto done, and he gave orders that the ambassadors should immediately return with their letters and presents.

A few days later, however, he sent for John Sierra, and after a personal conversation with him, seemed well satisfied, and, after some hesitation, decided to leave the matter to the consideration of his regents. They appear to have had a long debate, although they did not detain the friar or John Sierra, but sent them back by one of the western approaches, by which they had tried in vain to reach Vitcos. The captains and tutors of the Inca examined the omens, observed the flying of birds, and the nature of the weather, but, according to Garcilasso,³¹ made no inquiries of the devil, because he lost the power of speech in all Peru as soon "as the sacraments of our Holy Mother, the Church of Rome, entered the country."

³¹ Garcilasso de la Vega: *Hist. Gen.* p. 477.

The omens were favorable, and the regents finally decided to allow Sayri Tupac to accept the invitation of the viceroy and live under Spanish protection, especially as the Inca was very anxious himself to leave the fastnesses of Vilcabamba and see something of the world. He went directly to Lima, by one of the western routes, travelling in a litter made of rich materials, and carried by relays chosen from three hundred Indians who attended him and whom he brought with him from Vilcabamba. He was kindly received by the viceroy, then went back to Cuzco, enjoying quite a triumph on the way.

A pleasant incident of his Cuzco visit is given by Garcilasso in the following words:

"The Prince having passed Huamanca, by easie Jour-
nies came at length to Cozco, and lodged in the House
of his Aunt Donna Beatriq, which was on the back side
of my Fathers dwelling, to which place all those of the
Royal Blood, both men and women resorted to welcome
him to the Imperial City: and I my self went in the
name of my Father, to ask leave that he might personally
come and pay his respects to him; I found him then
playing at a certain game used amongst the Indians, of
which I have given an account in the first part of these
Commentaries; I kissed his hands, and delivered my
Message; he commanded me to sit down, and presently
they brought two gilded cups of that Liquor, made of
Mayz, [i. e. chicha] which scarce contained four ounces
of Drink; he took them both, and with his own Hand
he gave one of them to me; he drank, and I pledged him;
which as we have said, is the custom of Civility amongst
them. This Ceremony being past, he asked me, Why
I did not meet him at Villcapampa? I answered him,
Inca, as I am but a Youngman, the Governours make
no account of me, to place me in such Ceremonies as
these. How, replied the Inca, I would rather have seen
you than all the Friers and Fathers in Town, though
it were the Father in the Frock, or he in the Surplice;
and tell my Aunt, That I kiss her Hands, and that she

should not come hither, for I will wait upon her my self, and rejoyce at our happy meeting.

"In this manner, he entertained me a great while, making many enquiries of my condition, and how I spent my time; and taking my leave of him, he desired me often to visit him. As I was going away, I made him a submissive bow and reverence, after the manner of the Indians, who are of his Alliance and Kindred, at which he was so much pleased, that he embraced me heartily, and with much affection, as appeared by his Countenance."³²

Sayri Tupac now received the sacred Red Fringe of Sovereignty, was married to a princess of the blood royal, joined her in baptism, and then took up his abode in the lovely valley of Yucay, a day's journey north-east of Cuzco. Apparently he never returned to Vitcos. He died three years later, in 1650, leaving two brothers; the older, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, illegitimate, and the younger, Tupac Amaru, his rightful successor, an inexperienced youth.

The power was seized by Titu Cusi, the older brother, who set up his court in Vilcabamba, probably at Vitcos. He and his brother seem to have been suspicious of the untimely death of Sayri Tupac, and to have felt that the Spaniards were capable of more foul play. So they stayed quietly in Vilcabamba. Their first visitor, so far as we know, was Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa, whose story is told by Richard Pietschmann, in his pamphlet entitled: "*Bericht des Diego Rodriguez de Figueroa, über seine Verhandlungen mit dem Inka Titu Cusi Yupanqui in den Anden von Villcapampa*," published in Göttingen in 1910. (43 pages.) The next appears to have been an Augustinian missionary. Father Calancha writing a few years later gives the following description of their kingdom and its first missionary:

"Vilcabamba and its forested mountains runs due north of Cuzco for more than fifty leagues, and extends

³² Garcilasso de la Vega: *Royal Commentaries*. . . rendered into English by Sir Paul Rycaut. London: 1688. p. 998.

to the East and Southeast for fourteen degrees of longitude. It lies east of Lima.³³

"It is a hot zone, mountainous and forested, although it has parts that are very cold and some barren uplands [punas.] It has silver bearing hills, from which even today some ore is taken, and considerable gold, of which in those days much was gathered. . ."³⁴

"In the valley of Vilcabamba a town was afterwards founded, which today is called San Francisco de la Vitoria en Andesuyo,³⁵ in the Cordillera more than twenty leagues from Cuzco by the eastern route. This district is rough, and its forested mountains are magnificent. It is a land of moderate wealth, large rivers, and the usual rains. Into these mountains and forests came Father Marcos Garcia in the year 1566. He had been Vicar and Priest of the town and valley of Capinota during three preceding years, and from the success that he had among those infidels flamed up his desire to seek souls where no preacher had been, and where the preaching of the faith had not been heard. He belonged to a monastery in Cuzco, and announced his sacred impulse to the worthy brother Iuan de Vivero, who was Prior and Inspector of those districts. The latter realized his desire had the merit of obedience, and so, giving him ornaments, and what was necessary for his journey, sent him to the conversion of those infidels. His entrance cost him much labor, because as I have said, the Inca had cut the bridges, blocked up the passes, and destroyed the roads. Father Marcos entered Vilcabamba without other arms than the sinews of obedience and the spirit that a good zeal gives, taking as an escort in the face of such open enemies the desire to suffer for Christ, and the confidence of His Divine support. The Spaniards had not entered on the conquest of that country, and would not do so for three years. When he encountered an Indian who was going to or coming

³³ Calancha: *Coronica Moralizada*. Barcelona: 1638. p. 793.

³⁴ Calancha: *Coronica Moralizada*. Barcelona: 1638. p. 794.

³⁵ Antisuyu.

from Vilcabamba, and asked him about the road, pass, or ford by which he might go where the Inca was, either they told him that they did not know (for thus their king had instructed them), or they piled up the impossibilities and difficulties of the road, and gave him no hope whatsoever, unless he should be able to change himself into a bird. . ."

"After various difficulties, he arrived in the presence of the Inca, who received him angrily, being quite as much annoyed at seeing that Spaniards could enter his retreat, as at seeing among his towns a missionary preaching against his idolatries. Father Marcos was successful, however, in being able to carry out his desire, and has freedom to preach. Therefore he came out openly and displayed the standard of the faith. He built a church, two long days journey from Vilcabamba, in Puquiyura, a town in which the Inca had his court and armies, this being the first temple. He planted crosses in the fields and on the mountains, these being the best things to frighten off devils. The temple was the sole bulwark of the faith. Here the Blessed Sacrament (may it be forever praised) gave battle against an idolatrous king, surrounded by infidel armies, although it had only one soldier, poor, broken, and humble. It is difficult to believe how much this monk suffered. He had for adversaries legions of devils, who roared menaces at the priests, at their servants, and even at travellers, for having allowed the friar to build the chapel and to preach against their ancestral rites and ancient gods. Their chief divinity they call Punchao, i. e., the Day."³⁶

³⁶ Calancha: *Coronica Moralizada*. Barcelona: 1638. pp. 793-794. (The text reads as follows):

"Està Vilca-bāba, i sus montañas norte sur del Cuzco mas de cinquenta leguas en catorze grados, estendiendose al Oriente, i a los lados de lessueste, i cae à leste de Lima.

"Es tierra caliente de Andes i montuosa, aunque tiene partes muy frias, i punas destempladas. Tiene cerros de plata, de que asta oy se saca alguna cantidad, i cria oro, de que en aquellos tienpos se cogia mucho. Su rio es uno de los que dan cuerpo al gran rio del Marañon, que desagua en el mar del Norte, i teniendo alli los pies (pues es lo ultimo) le llaman boca del Marañon, que tiene de un labio a otro, i desta a otra orilla mas de cinquenta leguas, segun la relació de muchos, i corre desbocado cō tener tan gran boca. En el valle de Vilcabamba se fundò despues el pueblo, que oy se llama san Francisco de la

The principal shrine of the Inca, the holiest place near Vitcos, is described as follows. (I give a free translation from Calancha's Chronicle:)

"Close to Vitcos, in a village called Chuquipalpa, is a House of the Sun, and in it a white stone over a spring of water³⁷ where the Devil appears as a visible manifestation and was worshipped by those idolators. This was the principal *mochadero* of those forested mountains. (The word "*mochadero*" is the common name which the Indians apply to their places of worship.) In other words it is the only place where they practise the ceremony of kissing. The origin of this, the principal part of their ceremonial, is that very practise which Job abominates when he solemnly clears himself of all offen-

Vitoria en Andesuyo entre la cordillera de los Andes mas de veynte leguas del Cuzco a la parte del Oriente, es su comarca aspera i grandes sus montañas, es tierra de moderado regalo, grandes rios, i casi ordinarias lluvias. A estos Andes i montañas entrò el Padre fray Marcos Garcia por el año de 1566. aviendo sido Vicario i Dotrinante del pueblo i valle de Capinota los tres años antecedentes, i del fruto que izo en aquellos infieles, encendio los deseos de buscar animas dõde ningun predicador viesse entrado, ni el pregon de la Fè se viesse oido. Era conventual en el Cuzco, i comunicando su santo impulso con el memorable Padre fray Juan de Bivero, que era Prior i Visitador de aquellas comarcas le realçò el deseo con el merito de la Obediencia, i dan-dole ornamentos, i lo preciso para el via-ge, lo embio a la conversion de aquellos infieles. Padecio trabajos en la entrada, porque como se dijo, avia el Inga cortado puentes, desbarracado pasos, i anegado caminos. Entrò el Padre fray Marcos sin mas armas, que los bríos que dà la Obediencia, i con los animos que dà el buen zelo, llevando por escolta a vista de tan declarados enemigos el deseo de padecer por Cristo, i la confiança de sus Divinos socorros. No avian entrado Españoles a la conquista de aquella tierra, ni entraron en aquellos tres años. Quãdo encontraba algun Indio que iba o venia de Vilcabamba, i le preguntava por el camino, pãso o vado para ir a-donde estava el Inga, o le decian, que lo ignoravan (que así los tenia industria-dos su Rey) o le ponderavan imposibles, i dificultades, no dejandole esperanza umana, sino se convertia en pajaro. Quantas vezes diria lo que David, viendose en estrecho semejante, si yo confio en Dios, como me decis, que si quiero pasar de una parte a otra, que me convierta en pajaro i buelo de un mon-te a otro, como que la caridad no tuviera mas ligeras alas que la ave mas veloz? Llegò despues de varios trabajos a la presencia del Inga, que lo recibio enojado, sintiendo tanto el ver que podian entrar Españoles a sus retiros, como ver predicador contra sus idolatrias en sus pueblos. Fuele ganando lo volutad el Padre fray Marcos, i tuvo licencia para predicar, con que soltò la capa, i desplegó el estandarte de la Fè. Edificò Iglesia dos jornadas largas de Vilcabamba en Pu-quiura, pueblo en que el Rey Inga tenia su Corte i sus egercitos, siendo este el primer templo. Plantò Cruces en la tierra i en los montes, siendo ellas las que ahuyentan Demonios, i aquel Templo el baluarte de la Fè, donde peleava el santissimo Sacramento (que sea alabado por sienpre) contra un Rey idolatra, cercado de egercitos infieles, teniendo solo un soldado pobre, roto i umilde. Quanto padeceria este Religioso teniendo por contrarios legiones de Demonios que bramavan amenazando a e-chizeros, a sus panaguados i a otros viã-dantes por aver consentido al frayle el Templo, i que se predicase contra sus paternos ritos i antiguos Dioses? El Dios principal que adoravan era el Punchao, que es el dia."

³⁷ The italics are mine.

ces before God and says to Him: "Lord, all these punishments and even greater burdens would I have deserved had I done that which the blind Gentiles do when the sun rises resplendent or the moon shines clear and they exult in their hearts and extend their hands towards the sun and throw kisses to it, an act of very grave iniquity which is equivalent to denying the true God."³⁸

Thus does Father Calancha refer to the practice in Vilcabamba and elsewhere in Peru of that particular form of worship of the heavenly bodies, so widely spread in the East, in Arabia and Palestine, which was inveighed against by Mohammed as well as the ancient Hebrew prophets. Apparently it was practised here in the House of the Sun, in Chuquipalpa close to Vitcos in the reign of the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui.

Calancha goes on to say: "This (ceremony, the throwing of kisses to the sun), is among the Indians the outward action in which they show the delicacy [or the finest part] of the Gentile worship, and is the ceremony of the most profound resignation and reverence. And so it is that the places where they go to worship and to throw kisses to their Idol are called *mochaderos*."³⁹

It may be interesting to note in passing that the Inca word for kiss is *mucha*, while *muchani* means to kiss the hands.^{40 41}

³⁸ Calancha: *Coronica Moralizada*. Barcelona: 1638. p. 796. (The text reads as follows):

"Junto a Vitcos, en un pueblo que se di-ce Chuquipalpa estava una casa del Sol, i en ella una piedra blanca encima de un manantial de agua, donde el Demonio se aparecia visible, i era adorado de a-quellos idolatras, siendo el principal mo-chadero de aquellas montañas (la palabra mo-chadero es el nonbre vulgar con que los Indios nonbran a sus adoratorios) quiere decir lo mismo, que lugar donde besan, originase de que la ceremonia principal que usan, es la que abomina Iob a, quando se pone a quantas cõ Dios, i le dice: Señor, todos estos castigos, i ma-yores trabajos mereciera yo, si uviera écho lo que azen los ciegos Gãtiles, quã-do sale el sol resplandeciente, i la luna clara, i alegrandoseles el coraçon estien-den la mano ázia el sol, i la buelven a la boca besandola, que es iniquidad muy grande, i negar a Dios verdadero."

³⁹ Calancha: *Coronica Moralizada*: p. 796. (The text reads):

"Esta es en los Indios la accion exterior con que muestran lo fino de su adoracion Gentilica, i es la ceremonia de mas pro-funda sumision i culto; i asi los luga-res donde van a adorar, i a estender la mano ázia el Idolo besandola, se lla-man mo-chaderos."

⁴⁰ See: Holguin, D. G. "Arte y diccionario Quechua-Español." Lima: 1901.

⁴¹ For other references to this custom see: Markham, Sir Clements R. "Narratives of the rites and laws of the Yncas." London: 1873. pp. 37, 43, 44, 83, 89, 90, 114, and 115.

Father Calancha continues: "In this white stone of the aforesaid House of the Sun, which is called Yurac rumi [meaning in Quichua, a white rock], there attends a Devil who is Captain of a legion. He and his legionaries show great kindness to the Indian idolators but great terrors to the Catholics. They abuse with hideous cruelties the baptized ones who now no longer worship them with kisses, and many of the Indians have died from the horrible frights these devils have given them."⁴²

"Father Marcos suffered many insults at the hands of the chiefs and principal followers of the Inca. Some of them did it to please the Devil, others to flatter the Inca, and many because they disliked his sermons, in which he scolded them for their vices and abominated among his converts the possession of four or six wives. So they punished him in the matter of food, and forced him to send to Cuzco for victuals. The Convent sent him hard-tack, which was for him a most delicious banquet."⁴³

"During the rule of the Licenciado Lope Garcia de Castro, (1564-1569), another Augustinian missionary, Fray Diego Ortiz, left Cuzco alone for Vilcabamba. He suffered much on the road, not so much on account of the distance, for it is only a little more than ten leagues from Cuzco to the frontier of Vilcabamba, as on account of having to hunt for a practical route. He had no guides to tell him how to enter these forested mountain fastnesses. There were no bridges, and the fords were constantly shifting. However, he reached the retreat

⁴² Calancha: *Coronica Moralizada*. Barcelona: 1638, p. 796. (The text reads as follows): "En esta piedra blanca de aquella casa del sol llamada Yu-racrumi asistia un Demonio capitan de una legion; este i su caterva mostravan grandes carñios a los Indios idolatras, i grandes asombros a los Catolicos, u-sava con los bautizados, que ya no le mochavan, espantosas crueldades, i muchos morian de los espantos orribles que les mostrava. . . ."

⁴³ Calancha: *Coronica Moralizada*. Barcelona: 1638. p. 797. (The text reads): "Muchos baldones sufria el Padre fray Marcos, ya le perseguian muchos de los Caziques i principales, unos por adu-lar al Demonio, otros por agradar al In-ga, i gran parte por aborrecer sus sermones, en que reprendia sus vicios i abo-minava en los bautizados el tener qua-tro i seys mugeres; castigavanle en la comida, i fuele necesario enbiar al Cuz-co por alimentos, de donde el Conuen-to le enbiava biscocho, que era su ma-yor banquete." . . .

of the Inca, and entered his presence in company with Fray Marcos. Although the Inca was not too happy to see a new preacher, he was willing to grant him an entrance because the Inca knew Fray Marcos had become discontented, and wanted to return to Cuzco. Furthermore, he thought Fray Diego would not vex him nor take the trouble to reprove him. So the Inca gave him a license. They selected the town of Huarancalla, which was populous and well located in the midst of a number of other little towns and villages. There was a distance of two or three days journey from one Convent to the other. Leaving Fray Marcos in Puquiura, Fray Diego went to his new establishment, and in a short time built a church, a house for himself, and a hospital—all poor buildings, which the Indians, out of love and affection, made in a short time. He also started a school for children, and became very popular through his physical and spiritual ministrations as he went about healing and teaching.⁴⁴

"Calancha: Coronica Moralizada. Barcelona: 1638. p. 801. (The text reads):

"Saliò del Cuzco para Vilcabanba sien-do Provincial el Padre maestro fray Iuan de san Pedro, i governando el Perú el Licenciado Lope Garcia de Dastro del Consejo Real de las Indias, el bendito fr. Diego Ortiz solo, aunque acompañado de ardiente caridad, que ella sola es un exercito copioso, i al subit montes, i pa-sar laderas dirian lo que de la Esposa (q̃ todo es uno esposa de Dios i anima san-ta) los Angeles que caminando sola le cuetan ileras de soldados, tercios de compañías i mangas de exercitos. Si va sola, donde lleva tanta gente? Es que ese exercito està formado en la canpañia de la caridad, i alli estan viendo los An-geles que cada deseo es un soldado, i ven las a animes q̃ à de rendir i traer a Dios, que como si ya estuvieran vencidas, i Dios las tuviera debajo de su bandera a-listadas, así se las cuentan ya por solda-dos de su compañía, i por oficiales de su exercito, que la caridad a solas tiene por soldados a los deseos que lleva, i a los que à de convertir antes que los convier-ta, que tan adelantados tiene la caridad i el deseo de ganar animas los precios i los socorros. Despues de aver padecido mucho el Padre fray Diego en los caminos, no tanto por las leguas i distancia, pues desde el Cuzco asta las prime-ras tierras de Vilcabanba ay poco mas de diez leguas, quanto por aver de bus-car rodeos, i no taner guias para entrar en las montañas, por estar (como se à di-cho) los rios sin puentes, i mudarse con cada avenida los vados. Entró en los retiros del Inga, i en compañía del Padre fray Marcos fue a su presencia, i si no se alegrò mucho de ver al nuevo Predica-dor, gustò de su entrada porque sabia que el Padre fray Marcos andava des-contento, i deseava bolverse al Cuzco, i pensaria que el Padre fray Diego por no enojarle, no trataria de re-preen-derle.

"Diòle la licencia el In-ga, mostrando plazer de acudir a su rue-go, i escogió el pueblo de Guarancalla, que era populoso, i tenia estelage conpe-tente para acudir a otros pueblucuelos i reducciones, en cuyo medio estava Gua-rancalla: dos o tres jornadas avia de distancia del un Convento al otro, i que-dandose el Padre fr. Marcos en Puquiura, pasó a su fundacion el bendito fr. Diego, i en breve tienpo edificò Iglesia, izo abitacion, i dispuso ospital, todo de edi-ficios pobres, que los Indios conaamor i armiento acabaron en

Father Marcos had a harder time in Puquiura, which seems to have been nearer the center of the Inca cult.⁴⁵

Fray Marcos and Fray Diego had many exciting adventures which we cannot follow here. Things came to a crisis over the worship of the devil who gave manifestations at the spring over which was the white rock at the House of the Sun in Chuquipalpa. The two priests in imitation of the prophet Elias, sent for all the Indians, inviting them to gather in Pucyura in the church or the neighboring plaza, and asking all to bring a stick of firewood, in order that they might all march to burn up the Devil who had tormented and afflicted them. A large crowd, (Calancha says "an innumerable multitude"), came together on the day appointed. The Catholic Indians were most anxious to get even with this Devil who had slain their friends and inflicted wounds on themselves. The doubters, or those lukewarm in the Faith, were curious to see the result of the fire, and the Inca priests came also to see the conflict between their god and the Christians'; while, as may readily be imagined, nearly all the rest of the population came to see the excitement.⁴⁶

poco tienpo, fue estaeando la tierra con altas cruces, i por los montes i adoratorios fue plantando destos arboles sacrosantos, arrancando Idolos. Bramavan los echizeros, pero se-stejavan los demas Indios sus acciones, porque le amavan tiernamente, obligados, no tanto de las virtudes que en el co-nocian, como de los continuos beneficios con que los ganava, curavalos, ves-tialos, i enseñavalos. Iuntò cantidad de niños, i izose su maestro de escuela, multiplicandose el numero cada dia, i pidien-do el bautismo muchos de todos sexos i edades; gloriosamente creció la Cristian-dad en pocos meses, sacando el bendito fray Diego Indios de las grutas de aquellas montañas, atrayendolos con caricias, sobornandolos con ruegos, i conservan-dolos con beneficios....."

⁴⁵ Calancha: *Coronica Moralizada* Barcelona: 1638. p. 802. (The text reads):

"En los aumentos de su Iglesia se ocu-pava el Padre fray Diego querido de todos, i en Puquiura padecia persecuciones el Padre fray Marcos, porque con denuedo Catolico reprendia algunas supersti-ciones en los Indios principales, i accio-nes Gentilecas en el Inga, cargado la ma-no en la disolucion de las borracheras en que està la causa de todas las desdichas de los Indios; ellas los despeñan a inces-tos, sodomias i omicidios, i rara es la bor-rachera en que no aya mesela de ritos Gótilicos, i muchas vezes asiste el Demonio visible, i disimulado en figura de In-dio. O quáto deve de irritar a Dios el des-cuydo, i remision que los dotrinautes tie-nen en no destruir con rigor estas borra-cheras! pues siendo accion publica, no tie-nen los ministros disculpa, como las pue-den tener en los vicios ocultos. . . ."

⁴⁶ Calancha: *Coronica Moralizada*: Barcelona: 1638. p. 807. (The text reads):

"Los dos Religiosos mandaron a imitacion de Elias, juntar a todos los In-dios de aquel pueblo, i a todos los q̄ es-tavan en Puquiura advenedizos, publicã-do a voz de pregonero, que todos se jun-tasen tal dia en la Iglesia i plaça, i cada Indio o India, viejo o niño,

Starting out from Pucyura they soon arrived at the Temple of the Sun, in the village of Chuquipalpa, close to Vitcos. Here, as has been said before, there was a white rock over a spring of water where the devil at various times had shown himself. The Indians worshipped the water, says Calancha, as a divine thing. This devil had the reputation of being the most cruel of all. He often killed or wounded his worshippers with horrible roars. Naturally he was feared by all, and his worshippers came from far to offer him gifts and sacrifices. They even came from the most secluded villages in the mountains. Arriving at the sacred palisade, the monks raised the standard of the cross, recited their orisons, surrounded the rock and the Temple of the Sun, and placed the firewood all about it. Then, having exorcised the locality, and defied the Idol, they called the Devil by all the vile names they could think of to show their lack of respect, and finally commanded him never to return to this place or this vicinity. Then, calling on Christ and the Virgin, they applied fire to the wood, crying: "Now we shall see what a mocker is he who has been doing this harm, and that there is no other God than our God." The poor Devil then fled roaring in a fury, and making the mountains to tremble. They burnt the temple and the rock, and made a great impression on the Indians. Their followers returned rejoicing to Pucyura, and many others went away distraught. This story was told throughout the province, and the cruel Devil never more returned to the rock, nor to this district.⁴⁷

trugese un palo de leña, porq̃ avian de ir a quemar al Demonio que los engañava i afligia. Ya Dios les debia de aver asegurado a sus siervos, q̃ mostraria lo que ellos le rogavan, pues con pregon i vando general lo previnieron. Fue innumerable la multitud que concurrio para el dia señalado. Los Catolicos irian deseosos de ver castiga-do al Demonio, i loçanearse de ser Cris-tianos, los que avian recebido muertes en los suyos, i golpes en sus cuerpos irian a la vengança, los tibios i dudosos en la Fè, a ver la resulta del incendio, los echize-ros a ver la pelea de su idolo i de Cristo, muy seguros de apellidar vitoria, i casi todos a ver la novedad, salieron los dos Religiosos, que en cada uno iva un Elias, llevando aquella multitud, para que viesse la palestra, i fuesen testigos de la vitoria."

⁴⁷ Calancha: *Coronica Moralizada*. Barcelona: 1638. p. 808. (The text reads):

"Mientras llegan, sepamos que este es el Idolo que dejamos dicho, que en el parage de Chuquipalpa junto a Viteos, estava en la casa i templo del Sol, Demonio que dava respu-

Such a performance greatly annoyed the Inca. His mother in particular was highly indignant. As soon as they heard what had happened they went at once to Pucyura. The chiefs were angry enough to slay the friars at once, and tear them into small pieces. The Inca dared not touch Fray Diego Ortiz for his ministrations and his care of the sick had endeared him to the Indians. So he took it out on Fray Marcos, who was not so popular, and had him stoned out of the province, threatening to kill him if he should return.⁴⁸

The Inca Titu Cusi became very fond of Fray Diego, and so did the savage Indians who came from the fever stricken jungles, from three to six hundred miles, bringing tribute to the Inca.⁴⁹

tas en una piedra o peña blanca, i varias vezes se mostrava visible. La piedra estava sobre un maña-tial de agua, i veneravan el agua como a cosa divina. Era Demonio cruelisimo, pues en dejando de adorarle algunos dias, los matava o eria, azia notables daños, i orribles asombros, i asi era temido de todos, i le venian a ofrecer dadas i sacrificios de lejas distancias, i de los pueblos mas retirados de las montañas. Llegaron al palenque nuestros Religio-sos, llevando por estandarte una Cruz, i aziendo oracion devota, i mandando a todos rezasen las oraciones, con denue-do Cristiano, i confianza Catolica, rodearon la piedra i la casa del Sol poniendo leña a todo; i aviendo exorcizado el sitio, i baldonado al Idolo, tratarō infamemē-te al Demonio, mandandole que nunca mas bolviese al sitio, ni a la tierra: llamā-do a Cristo i a la Virgen santisima, pega-ron fuego a la leña, diciēdo: Ahora vereys quan burlador es el que os engañava, i como no ay otro Dios que el q̄ los Cris-tianos confiesan. Salio huyendo el Demonio bramando rabias, i estremeciendo montes: quemaron templo i piedra, i re-forçando su Fè los Catolicos, i confesando la de Cristo los idolatras, a voces de-cian lo q̄ digerō los idolatras Indios, quado el incendio de Elias; solo el Dios que predica Elias, es el verdadero Señor. Bolvio la multitud alegre, i algunos confusos. Publicōse el caso entoda la comarca, i nunca mas bolvio a la piedra, ni a la Provincia el Demonio cruel."

⁴⁸ Calancha: Coronica Morализada. Barcelona: 1638. pp. S08-S09. (The text reads):

"Luego q̄ supo el Inga i su muger el incendio del Idolo, i el des-tierrro de su Dios, i oyendo los lamētos q̄ sus echizeros aziā, por ver tan glorio-sos a los Cristianos, i tan baldonado el partido de su idolatria, se vinieron a toda priesa al pueblo de Puquira; los Capitanes del Inga venian enfurecidos tratando matar a lançadas dos Reli-giosos, parecidos que era poco despe-ñarlos. Llegaron al pueblo, i queriendo egecutar su rabia, dispuso Dios lo q̄ mas devio de convenir, o porq̄ algunos Cato-licos de su Cōsejo les mitigaro, o porque el Inga i sus Capitanes temieron. Al fin salio de acuerdo q̄ el P. F. Diego se fuese a su Iglesia de Guarancalla, i q̄ sacasen de-sterrado al P. F. Marcos con pena, i amenaza de que lo matarian si bolvia mas a la Provincia. Entraron con lanças los Capitanes del Inga, con cantidad de velleguines adonde estaban los siervos de Dios, i sacando al Padre fray Marcos, lo llevaron con afrentas i malos trata-mientos asta cerca de Oyara, leguas azia el Cuzco, i de alli le enbiaron desterrado. . . ."

⁴⁹ Calancha: Coronica Morализada. Barcelona: 1638. p. S09. (The text reads):

"Venian Indios de la tierra dētro a nego-cios con el Inga, i otros a traerle los tri-butos: enfermavan muchos por venir de sierras frias a montañas calidas, en parti-cular los Indios Manaries i los Pilcoso-nes, que de ciento i dozientas leguas ve-nian a sus despachos; con estos se singularizava con mayores finezas. . . ."

One day a Spaniard named Romero entered Vilcabamba looking for gold, and got permission from the Inca to do some prospecting. He was too successful. The Inca feared his reports might encourage hordes of his undesirable countrymen to enter Vilcabamba, so the too lucky prospector was put to death.⁵⁰

It is now time for us to return to Cuzco and take up the threads of the Spanish end of the story.

Eleven years after the accession of Titu Cusi there arrived in Cuzco, in the year 1570, a new viceroy, the famous Francisco de Toledo,⁵¹ described by a recent historian as an "indefatigable worker, but excessively narrow-minded, cruel, and pitiless." One of the first functions which he attended was the baptism, on January 6, 1571, of a little Inca prince,⁵² the son of one Carlos Inca, a cousin of the reigning Inca, Titu Cusi Yupanqui. This Carlos Inca was living in the palace of Colcampata, which occupies a slightly position half-way up the Sacsahuaman hill back of Cuzco.

Ocampo says that the Inca Titu Cusi Yupanqui was also present at this ceremony, was impressed by the splendor of the Catholic ceremonial, and on returning to Vilcabamba requested that someone be sent to teach him the Christian religion.⁵³

Ocampo says further that two Augustinian friars, Juan de Vivero and Diego Ortiz, were commissioned to enter the fastnesses of Vilcabamba. With them went several laymen. They reached Vitcos and found that the legitimate Inca, Tupac Amaru, was imprisoned "with the chosen virgins and their matrons in the House of the Sun." The ambassadors endeavored to persuade Titu Cusi Yupanqui, "with loving words and rich presents, to leave that province of Vilcapampa and come to the city of Cuzco to offer obedience to his Majesty, and

⁵⁰ See Calancha: *Coronica Moralizada*: pp. 810-811.

⁵¹ Garcilasso: Chap. XVI. (Rycaut's translation, pp. 1008-9.)

⁵² Ocampo, Baltasar de. "Account of the Province of Vilcapampa, and a narrative of the execution of the Inca Tupac Amaru. . ." Trans. by Sir Clements R. Markham. London: 1907. p. 207.

⁵³ Ocampo: p. 206-210.

to his Excellency in the royal name, as the said Inca had proposed to do through his envoys." Ocampo says he determined to comply, but, owing to a fit of obstinacy, he delayed his departure for some time, putting it off from one day to another.⁵⁴

Ocampo also says that "the Inca, at his own request, had been baptized by the Father Friar Juan de Vivero in the said province of Vilcapampa, receiving the name of Don Felipe Titu Cusi Yupanqui. As a baptized Christian the Fathers said a mass every day. The chapel in which they performed these services was near my house and on my own land in the place called Puquiura, near the metal works of Don Cristoval de Albornoz, formerly Precentor of the cathedral of Cuzco."⁵⁵ ⁵⁶

Garcilasso,⁵⁷ on the other hand, says that the viceroy Toledo had determined to try and get the Inca out of Vilcabamba to live near Cuzco. His version is as follows:

"The intention of the Vice-King in this matter was sincere, and real, and with no other design, (than after the Example of his Predecessor, Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza) to advance his own Honour and Reputation, by an action so generous and heroick, as to reduce such a Prince to the Service of his Catholick Majesty, and to civilise him as it were, by calling him from the Barbarity of those mountains, where he lived like a Fugitive and a Salvage Person. To bring this Design about, the Vice-King acted according to the former methods, and sent Messengers to him, inviting him to come out of those Mountains and live amongst the Spaniards, since they were become one people with them; which offer, if he was disposed to accept, he assured him, that the King would bestow on him the same Livelihood and Support that he had formerly given to his Brother."

⁵⁴ Ocampo, p. 213.

⁵⁵ Ocampo, p. 214.

⁵⁶ This version has been adopted by Sir Clements Markham. (See: "Incas of Peru," pp. 290-291), but it does not fit in at all with the story of the Augustinian missionaries in Vitecos, as given by Calancha.

⁵⁷ Garcilasso: "Royal Commentaries," Chap. XVI, pp. 1008-9

This version is vouched for by the contemporary account of Friar Gabriel de Oviedo,⁵⁸ who says that orders had been received by Toledo from Philip II, instructing him to arrange for the Inca to come forth in peace from the forests of the province of Vilcabamba. This seems more likely.

Friar Gabriel says that on the 20th of July, 1571, the Viceroy sent for him to consult with him about what was the best way to get the Inca to come forth from the mountains of the province of Vilcabamba and live in peace. The Viceroy finally requested Friar Gabriel to undertake this embassy in person. They chose the Licenciado Garci Rios to go with him. They were given various letters and also a bull of dispensation granted by the Pope at the request of Philip II, enabling the son of Titu Cusi to marry his first cousin in accordance with Inca customs. With these documents and some others they left Cuzco on August 20th, and went by way of the Acobamba, [or Occobamba] river, beyond Ollantaytambo. They were unable to cross the river as they had no canoes, and sent Indians as messengers, who were slain. They then went down on the river, apparently to its juncture with the Urubamba, waited there two days in the hopes of finding some means of crossing it; made fires at night to attract attention, but no one came to take them across. They saw no signs of anybody, so they returned to Cuzco, which they reached on the 18th of October.⁵⁹

Garcilasso also says, (p. 1009): [the Inca's] "Kindred, and Subjects who were with him, affrighted him with the story of his Brother; telling him, That the Allowance

⁵⁸ Sarmientoa de Gamboa, Pedro. "History of the Incas." Translated by Sir Clements R. Markham. London: 1907. p. 401.

⁵⁹ This version is vouched for by Father Calaneha, see his *Coronica Moralizada*, p. 831, as follows:

"Desciendo la paz embió el Virrey al Padre Fray Gabriel de Oviedo (que fue Cate-drático en esta Real universidad de Lima) Do-minico, i al Licenciado Garci Rodriguez, y a otras onradas personas con In-dios principales del Cuzco; i llegando al rio de Aco-bamba, le enbiaron enbajada al Inga con oeho Indios, dandole a enten-der a lo que venian; mataron a seys In-dios, huyeron los dos a dar la nueva al Padre Oviedo i a Garci Rodri-guez, que luego se bolvieron al Cuzco."

given him by the Spaniards was small and inconsiderable, and that the life of his Brother was afterwards very short, caused (as they would insinuate) by Poison, or some treacherous or suspicious manner of dealing; therefore they advised the Inca by no means to move out of his Retirement, being more secure in his banishment, than in the faithless Hands of his Enemies."

It must have been perfectly evident to Titu Cusi that it was far more amusing to be an independent sovereign in Vitcos than a puppet of the Spaniards in Yucay.

Whichever version is adopted, all accounts agree that it was finally decided to send as ambassador a cavalier of Cuzco, named Tilano de Anaya, who was married to an Inca princess, and who had been Major-domo of the Inca in Cuzco. He was ordered to take the route "by the bridge near Ollantaytambo, where there was a way into the province." He had instructions not to wait at the bridge, but to push on and not stop until he had delivered his letters into the hands of the Inca.⁶⁰

In the meantime the Inca Titu Cusi fell ill, apparently as the result of an intemperate jollification. He sent for Fray Diego, but all his skill was unavailing, and the remedies, of which there seem to have been a mixture of Indian and Spanish, proved fatal. At least so it appeared to the Inca's mother and the chiefs. As a result Fray Diego was put to death, and the young Inca Tupac Amaru had his brows decked with the Scarlet Fringe of Sovereignty.⁶¹ All these things happened in and near Vitcos.

When tidings came to Vitcos that people were coming from Cuzco to act as spies, seven captains went out along the road to that city. "One was named 'Puri Pauca.' With him there was a native of the valley of Xauxa,

⁶⁰ A copy of Toledo's letter to Titucusi, sent by the hand of Tilano de Anaya, and dated 16 Oct. 1571, is given on pp. 266-267 of "(Coleccion de documentos inéditos del Archivo de Indias," Madrid: 1867 Vol. 8.)

⁶¹ Calancha: *Coronica*, p. 512, *et seq.*

a Huanca Indian of a very warlike tribe. I do not remember the names of the other five captains. They guarded the bridge of Chuqui-chaca, over the Vilcamayu river, which is the key to the province of Vilcapampa."⁶²

Tilano de Anaya, the messenger from the Viceroy was on his way to Vilcabamba with the Viceroy's letter to the late Inca. Tilano was preparing to spend the night at the bridge of Chuqui-chaca, when he was attacked and killed by the Inca warriors. When this news reached Cuzco a council of war was held and it was decided to despatch a warlike force to punish those who had killed not only the priest, but an ambassador from the Viceroy.

Friar Gabriel says the Viceroy called a council on Palm Sunday, 1572, and it was resolved to make war on the Inca and give a reward to the man who should capture him.

Garcilasso gives a number of other reasons for this expedition. He says:⁶³ "It was the Opinion of the wise Counsellors of those times, That many Insurrections might be raised in that Empire by this young Heir, being countenanced and assisted by the Incas his Kinsmen, who lived amongst the Spaniards, and by the Caciques his Subjects, and by those very men, who were born of Indian Mothers, though their Fathers were Spaniards; all which would joyn, and rejoice at a change; being willing to better their Fortunes, which were reduced to that mean degree, that most of them wanted even Bread to support the necessities of Humane Life.

"Moreover it was alledged, That by the Imprisonment of the Inca, all that Treasure might be discovered, which appertained to former kings, together with that Chain of Gold, which Huayna Capac commanded to be made for himself to wear in the great and solemn days of their Festival, and especially on that day, when he gave a name to his eldest son Huascar, as hath been formerly related; all which, as was reported, the Indians con-

⁶² Ocampo, p. 216.

⁶³ Rycaut's translation, p. 1009.

cealed. And in regard, that that Chain of Gold with the remaining Treasure belong'd to his Catholick Majesty by right of Conquest, it was Justice and Reason to take such courses as might retrieve those Riches which the Inca concealed, and had conveyed away from the true Proprietor; Besides all which, many other matters were alledged, which might incite the Vice-King to take the Inca Prisoner."⁶⁴

"In the meantime," says Ocampo, "the legitimate Inca, Tupac Amaru, was there in the fortress of Pitcos, which is on a very high mountain, whence the view commanded a great part of the province of Vilcapampa. Here there was an extensive level space, with very sumptuous and majestic buildings, erected with great skill and art, all the lintels of the doors, as well the principal as the ordinary ones, being of marble, elaborately carved."⁶⁵

As Ocampo lived in Pucyura soon afterwards, his description of Vitcos may be regarded as faithful in its details, even though his account of the embassies is incorrect.

There are various contemporary accounts of the expedition.⁶⁶ In general they agree that one company was sent by way of Limatambo to Curahuasi to head off the Inca in case he should wish to escape across the Apurimac. This road had frequently been used by the Inca Manco in his marauding expeditions. The other company marched from Cuzco via the valley of Yucay. They came to the Chuqui-chaca bridge. Says Ocampo: "Here they found Tupac Amaru Inca pre-

⁶⁴ This accords more closely with the official report: ". . . en la provincia de Vileabamba estaba rebelado y alzado contra el servicio de V. M. Cusitito Yupanqui Inga y Tupac-Amaru, con tanto escándalo y miedo de los robos y asaltos que hacian los indios de aquella provincia en los que iban á la ciudad del Cuzco, como se escribió á V. M. muchas veces, representando los daños que causaba y lo que convenia que aquello se allanase, así por esto como porque fuera una ladronera á donde se iban á recojer los delincuentes del reino y una cabeza de lobo; . . ." See: "Relaciones de los Virreyes y Audiencias que han Goberando el Perú. . . ." Tomo I. *Memorial y Ordenanzas de D. Francisco de Toledo*. Lima: 1867. (p. 9.)

⁶⁵ Ocampo, p. 216.

⁶⁶ Most of them are printed in the "Juicio de Límites entre el Perú y Bolivia," Vol. 7. Barcelona: 1906.

pared, having been taken out of the House of the Sun, with his camp formed. Our troops had an encounter with his people, though the river was between them. For with four shots from our small field guns, and the arquebuses of the soldiers, the Peruvians were routed, and were obliged to retreat to their camp. Our men then occupied the bridge, which was a measure of no small importance for the royal force. For the enemy did not remember to burn and destroy the said bridge. God permitted this, because of the great trouble the Spaniards would have had in making one over the very full river. Leaving some of our men to guard it, and to forward supplies to the front, the rest of the force continued the pursuit, the Inca and his people being routed and in flight. The road was narrow in the ascent, with forest on the right, and on the left a ravine of great depth.”⁶⁷

“Our troops could not advance in formation of squadrons, but only two by two. The Captain Martin Garcia Oñez de Loyola, who was in the vanguard, was advancing alone like a good and well-armed captain, when an Inca captain, named Hualpa, came out of the forest without being seen by anyone, and tackled our captain with such an embrace that he could not get at his arms, the object being to hurl him down the ravine. He would have been dashed to pieces, and hurled into the river, but an Indian servant of the captain, named Corillo, who is still alive, with property in the valley of Yucay, and who was then with him, drew Loyola’s sword from the scabbard and, with much dexterity and animation, killed the Indian Hualpa, who was thus vanquished, and failed in his evil intent. To this day the place where this happened is called “the leap of Loyola.” Continuing in pursuit of the enemy, many prisoners, both captains and common people, were taken. Being pressed to say what road the Inca had taken, they replied that he had gone inland towards the valley of Simaponte; and that he was flying to the country of the Mañaries

⁶⁷ Ocampo, p. 220.

Indians, a warlike tribe and his friends, where balsas and canoes were posted to save him and enable him to escape."⁶⁸

Loyola's own story has been published in Volume VII of the documents prepared for the Boundary Commission judging the limits between Peru and Bolivia. He says that he found the Inca in the valley of Momori. This we were told was near Rosalina, on the Urubamba, not far from its junction with the Pampaconas. Loyola was neither deterred by the dangers of the jungle, nor the rapids in the river, and constructed five rafts on which he put some of his soldiers, and accompanying them himself, they went down the rapids, escaping death many times by swimming, until they arrived at the said place called Momori, only to find that the Inca, hearing of their intended arrival, had gone further into the woods. Nothing daunted, Loyola followed him up, although they had to go on foot and barefooted, with hardly anything to eat, most of their provisions having been lost in the river. They finally captured the Inca, and brought him back.^{69 70}

Garcilasso's account is as follows: "The Prince Tupac Amaru having received intelligence, that some Forces were entered within his Jurisdiction, he presently fled twenty leagues within the Country down a River below the Mountain. The Spaniards instantly fitted themselves with Boats, and Floats, and therewith followed and pursued after him. The Prince considering that he had not People to make resistance, and that he was not conscious to himself of any Crime, or disturbance he had done or raised, suffered himself to be taken; chusing rather to entrust himself in the hands of the Spaniards, than to perish in those Mountains with Famine, or be drowned in those great Rivers, which fall and empty themselves into the River of Plate. Where-

⁶⁸ Ocampo, p. 221.

⁶⁹ Peru. Juicio de Límites entre el Perú y Bolivia. Vol. VII., pp. 4-5.

⁷⁰ See the account in Markham's "Incas of Peru," pp. 294-297; and in—Coleccion de documentos inéditos del archivo de Indias, pp. 278-282, of Vol. 8.

fore he yielded himself into the Power of Captain Martin Loyola, and his Souldiers, in hopes, that when they found him naked, and deprived of all subsistence, they would take Compassion on him, and allow him the same Pension which was given to his Brother Don Diego Sayri Tupac, little suspecting that they would kill him, or do him any harm, since he was guilty of no Crime. The Spaniards in this manner seizing on the Inca, and on all the Indian Men and Women, who were in Company with him, amongst which was his Wife, two Sons, and a Daughter, returned with them in Triumph to Cozco; to which place the Vice-King went, so soon as he was informed of the imprisonment of the poor Prince."⁷¹

Of his barbarous execution in Cuzco this is not the place to speak.⁷² With the entry of Loyola, Vitecos ceased to be the Inca capital.

So much for the chronicles, now for the work of fitting the evidence to some locality that would meet the requirements of historical accuracy.

III.

We arrived in Cuzco early in July, 1911, and while engaged in purchasing mules and making the necessary preparation for our journey into Vilcabamba, made enquiries in all likely quarters as to the possibility of finding any ruins down the Urubamba valley.

It was known to a few people in Cuzco, chiefly residents of the province of Convencion, that there were ruins still undescribed in the valley of the Urubamba. One friend told us that a muleteer had told him of some ruins near the bridge of San Miguel. Knowing the propensity of his countrymen to exaggerate, he placed little confidence in the report, and had passed by the place a score of times without taking the trouble to look into the matter. Another friend, who owned a

⁷¹ Garcilasso: "Royal Commentaries . . . rendered into English by Sir Paul Rycaut." London: 1688, p. 1010.

⁷² For an account of it see: Markham: "Incas of Peru," pp. 293-297.

sugar plantation on the river Vilcabamba itself, said he also had heard vague rumours of ruins. He was quite sure there were some near Pucyura. He had been there, but had never seen any. Finally a talkative old peddler said there were ruins "finer than Choquequirau" down the valley somewhere. But as he had never been to Choquequirau, and no one placed any confidence in his word anyhow, we could only hope there was some cause for his enthusiasm. Finally, there was the story in Wiener's "*Pérou et Bolivie*" that when he was in Ollantaytambo in 1875, or thereabouts, he was told that there were fine ruins down the Urubamba valley at "Huaina-Picchu or Matcho-Picchu."

⁷³ ⁷⁴ Wiener decided to go down the valley and look for them, but, owing to one reason or another, he failed to find them. Should we be any more successful?

One person was sure we would—Señor Romero, whose thorough acquaintance with the history of the conquest made him confident that we should find not one but several groups of ruins hitherto unknown to Peruvian archæologists.

To most of our friends in Cuzco, however, the idea that there could be anything finer than Choquequirau seemed absurd. They regarded that "cradle of gold" as "the most remarkable archæological discovery of recent times," and not only assured us there was nothing half so good, but themselves took it absolutely for granted that I was secretly planning to return thither to dig for buried treasure. Denials were of no avail. To a people whose ancestors made fortunes out of mines and "lucky strikes," and who have themselves been brought up on stories of enormous wealth still remaining to be discovered by some fortunate excavator, the question of treasure is an ever present source of conversation. Even the prefect of Cuzco was quite unable to conceive

⁷³ Wiener, Charles. "*Pérou et Bolivie*." Paris, 1880. p. 345.

⁷⁴ Huayna Picchu is said to be referred to in: "*El brillante porvenir del Cuzco*," by a fray Julian Bovo de Rivello,—a rare pamphlet published in Cuzco in 1848, which I have been unable to find in this country.

of our doing anything for the love of discovery. He was convinced that I was about to find great riches at Choquequirau, or else that I was in receipt of a very large salary!

We found the ancient province of Vilcabamba a most difficult place to explore. The present entrance is over a newly built Government road, which leads through the Grand Canyon of the Urubamba, between Torontoy and Huadquiña. In places the mighty precipices of solid granite rise five thousand feet sheer from the rapids to the clouds, and then continue brokenly upward to glaciers and snow-capped peaks. In the most inaccessible part of this wonderful canyon I found the ruins of Macchu Pichu, a most remarkable city built on a precipitous ridge, thousands of feet above the river. When I first saw the ruins of Macchu Pichu, which is on a very high mountain commanding a magnificent view, and where there is a level space with very sumptuous and majestic buildings erected with great skill, and made of white granite, I thought that I must have come across Pitcos, and that "Pitcos" was as near *Pichu* as Ocampo succeeded in getting. It will be remembered that Ocampo said: "The said Inca Tupac Amaru was there in the fortress of Pitcos, which is on a very high mountain, whence the view commanded a great part of the province of Vilcapampa. Here there was an extensive level space, with very sumptuous and majestic buildings, erected with great skill and art, all the lintels of the doors, as well the principal as the ordinary ones, being of marble, elaborately carved."⁷⁵

I was inclined to think that Pichu might have been the older form of Pitcos or Vitcos, particularly as the white granite of which the temples and palaces are constructed could so easily pass for marble. The only difficulty about fitting this description to Macchu Pichu is that the buildings themselves, and not only the lintels of the doors, are of white granite. (There is no marble in the region.) Furthermore the location of Macchu

⁷⁵ Ocampo, p. 216.

Pichu is not favorable to the geographical position of the places mentioned in the chronicles as being near Viteos. And, so far as we were able to discover, there was no "white rock over a spring of water" near by.

On August 6th we passed the bridge called Choquechaca or Chuquichaca at the junction of the Urubamba and Vilcabamba rivers, and entered the present Vilcabamba valley.

It is not likely that there was a road in those days from the valley of Yucay to the Vilcabamba valley, except by way of the valley of Lucumayo. The Chuquichaca bridge which crosses the Urubamba river just below the junction of the Lucumayo valley with the Urubamba is, as Ocampo says, the key to the Vilcabamba valley. Had the Incas destroyed that bridge, it would have been almost impossible for the Spaniards to have got across the Urubamba river and into the Vilcabamba valley. After crossing the bridge the road to-day follows the course of the river. It has only recently been built by sugar planters to enable their loaded mules to travel with greater ease. Much of the road has been carved out of the face of a solid rock precipice. In fact, some of it has actually had to be tunnelled. The old road is correctly described as having a forest on the right, and on the left a ravine of great depth.

We missed the best road to Paltaybamba, taking a trail that is much older. It was used until recently in order to avoid the precipices and rapids of the middle Vilcabamba. Our mules were quite tired with their long journey, and the hard climb up this hill, so that we did not reach Paltaybamba until half past six. The Paltaybamba plantation is not as extensive or as well run as the better ones in the Santa Ana valley, but compares favorably with the smaller ones. Visitors are rare here, and we were most hospitably received. The manager of the plantation gave us a boy to guide us to the next house, with orders that the man at that house should guide us to the next house, and so on up the valley. These people, being all tenants of the plantation, are

obliged to carry out such orders, sometimes at considerable inconvenience to themselves.

The valley of Vilcabamba above Paltaybamba is very picturesque: high mountains on either side, covered with tropical jungle; the light green of sugar-cane fields in the bottom of the valley, wherever there are level spots worth while cultivating; occasional huts of tenants; a roaring torrent, and a very winding road.

We passed some ruins two leagues above Paltaybamba, near Huaran or Huarurani. We are told that there is a large Inca city near the cane fields. It is called Huayara. This is undoubtedly the place described in Ocampo, called *Hoyara*, and the site of the first Spanish settlement in this region, later abandoned for the present site of the village of Vilcabamba.

Ocampo's story is as follows: "The Inca and the other Indians were collected and brought back to the valley of Hoyara. Here the Indians were settled in a large village, and a city of Spaniards was founded. It was called San Francisco of the Victory of Vilcapampa for two sacred and honest reasons. The first was because the victory was on the 4th of October, 1571, the day of San Francisco, the second being the name of the Viceroy to whom the victory was due. Great festivities were held in the city of Cusco when the news of the victory arrived.

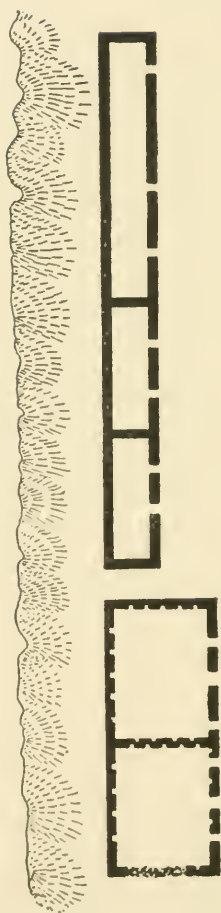
This city was founded on an extensive plain near a river, with an admirable climate. From the river channels of water were taken for the service of the city, the water being very good."⁷⁶

We also heard of Ñusta España, said to be a city and fortress of the Incas above Rosaspata, and near Pucyura. It contains a big stone, and is opposite a place called Huanacacalle. These things were told us by various Indians who were called up and interviewed by Evaristo Mogrovejo, the Lieutenant-Governor of Lucma. He was very keen to find ruins, as we offered him a reward of fifty cents gold for every ruin found, and double that amount if very fine ruins.

⁷⁶ Ocampo, pp. 221-222.

Lucma has about twenty thatched-roof huts, and stores well supplied with the ordinary Indian necessities, including cotton cloth, sugar, canned goods, candles, etc. There is also a small tavern, where drinks are sold. A picturesque belfry and a small old church, somewhat out of repair, crown a small hill back of the town. There is little level land in the valley here, but gentle slopes permit a considerable amount of agriculture. Corn and alfalfa seem to be the principal crops. The hills rise several thousand feet above the valley on each side. In places they are covered with what looks like primeval forest jungle. It occurs chiefly above the cloud line. In some places recent clearings show evidence of enterprise on the part of the present inhabitants. We had no difficulty in getting a mestizo here to pasture our animals.

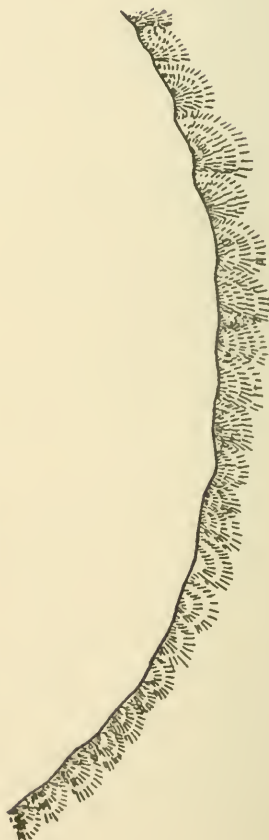
The next day Mogrovejo, Sergeant Carrasco, and I went up a ravine on top of the ridge, which here divides the upper Vilcabamba from the lower reaches of the river. After an hour's climb from the village of Lucma, we reach a slightly natural terrace, on which are located the ruins of Incahuaracana. They are of poor quality, resembling in many respects the ruins at Choquequirau. The walls are made of unhewn stones, laid in clay. There are five houses in a row. The principal ones being lined with niches. The houses have two or three doors on the front side, no doors in the rear, and no windows. The walls have been partly pulled down by hand, and the doorways filled up with loose stones, apparently in order to keep cattle from straying. The ruins are much overgrown. The view on both sides is very charming. There is a nice little plaza on the terrace in front of the ruins. As at Choquequirau the whole thing is on a ridge, with an extensive view on both sides. The walls are in bad condition, and it was difficult to measure them. Showers and clouds made photography also difficult. The niches are in general about three feet high, and about one and a half feet wide, but very much ruined, only a few of them remain-



YALE PERUVIAN EXPEDITION
1911

PLAN OF THE RUINS
INCA HUARACANA
NEAR
LUCMA

SCALE IN FEET
0 20 40 60



PLAN 2

ing as they were originally. The interior dimensions of the buildings are as follows: 36 x 27½ feet; 34½ x 28.2 feet; 36 x 11; and 76 x 11. The last two buildings had no niches, and were probably occupied by the servants and attendants of the Incas, or whoever lived in the first two structures, which are more carefully built and fitted up with niches.

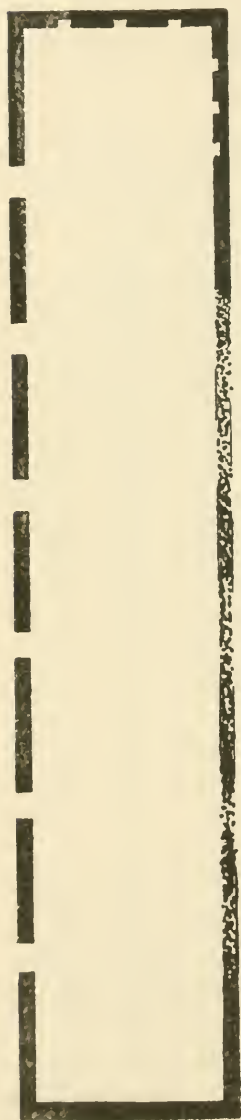
The general effect gives one the impression that Incahauracana was a country house belonging to one of the nobility, some prince or chieftain who wished to overlook his estates.

We left Lucma the next day and immediately recrossed the Vilcabamba river at a ford, and soon had a good view up the valley to the hill on which are the ruins of Rosaspata. An hour later we reached Puquiura, and passed through the village, which has a poor church and a belfry in a tree. Just beyond is the village of Huancacalle, near Tincochaca. Here we left our goods and chattels in the care of an Indian, a friend of the Lieutenant-Governor's, crossed the river Vilcabamba on a foot-bridge, and at once came upon some interesting ruins. They were clearly not Incaic, and seemed to be the remains of a quartz stamping-mill. In Ocampo's account of Vilcabamba there is a statement that he lived in Puquiura, near the metal works of a wealthy caballero who had property in Cuzco. Ocampo says also that the illegitimate Inca, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, was baptized in a chapel near Ocampo's house and on his own land in Puquiura, near the metal works of Don Cristoval de Alborno. ⁷⁷

It is possible that there are metal works nearer the small church at Puquiura than these ruins at Tincochaca but it is not likely. I am told that there is a gold mine, in the hills not far away. There is abundant evidence in these ruins to show that quartz crushing was carried on on a considerable scale. There are a number of ruins of houses, a large Spanish mill-stone, five feet in diameter and one foot three inches thick, and a charac-

⁷⁷ Ocampo, p. 214.

teristic Indian mortar and pestle, large enough to require the services of four men to work it. The pestle has



RUINS OF UNCA PAMPA 1911 YALE PERUVIAN EXPEDITION

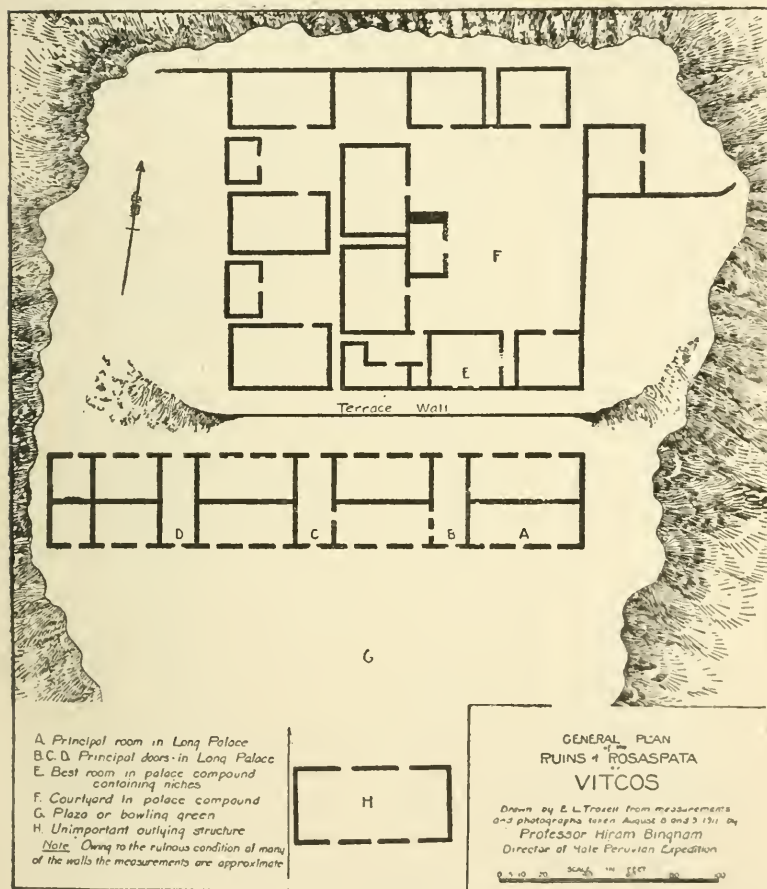
20 feet

PLAN 3

been hollowed out of a large boulder that projects only a few inches above the surface of the ground, and the mortar is now lying on its side near the pestle. We turned it over with some difficulty, and frightened two or three large frogs that were taking refuge beneath it. The square hole in the middle of the millstone measured 8.1 inches by 8.1. The mortar is nearly four feet in diameter.

Leaving this interesting ruin of a Spanish quartz mill, I crossed the Tincochaca river on a foot-bridge, climbed the hill called Rosaspata, and was directed by the Lieutenant-Governor and the Indian guide to an old and much destroyed ruin in the saddle of the hill before reaching the principal ruins of Rosaspata, and south of them. It is at a place called Uncapampa. The ruin consists of the walls of a single house, 166.5 feet long, by 33 feet in width. There are six doorways in front and none on the ends or in the rear walls. The ruins resembled those seen yesterday at Incahuaracana, and, like those, the walls are now used as part of a pasture

fence. They are built of rough stones laid in clay. They had some niches, although almost all have disappeared. There are no projecting cylindrical blocks, and the general finish is extremely rough. The niches



PLAN 4

vary from 2.3 feet in height to 2.5, and are about 1.9 feet in width. They occur at irregular distances, roughly, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet apart. The walls appear to have been about 10 feet in height. In fact, one corner is still standing at that height. There is a pleasant view from

the flat open space in front of the ruins over the valley of the Andenes, called the Quebrada Andene, or Ande.

Leaving the ruin of Uncapampa with my Indian helpers I climbed back on to the ridge, found a path along its west side, and came to the ruins of Rosaspata. Passing some ruins very much overgrown and of a primitive character, I found myself on a pleasant open plaza, (see Plan 4, G,) bounded on its north side by the ruins of a large palace.

The view from the plaza is a particularly extensive one on all sides. To the north and south are snow-capped mountains, and to the east and west deep beautiful valleys. The long palace, of which we made a plan with careful measurements, is 245 feet long and 43 feet wide. (See Plan 4.) There are 15 doors in front, and 15 doors behind, but none in the ends. There are no windows. It is divided by halls into three divisions. The front entrance to each hall is a particularly well made door, containing a reëntrant angle. (B, C, and D on Plan 4.) These three principal doors and the other lesser doors are all of white granite, rather carefully squared and finished. The lintels of the doors are solid blocks of white granite, from 6 to 8 feet in length. Most of them have been destroyed, but enough remain to give a good idea of its former grandeur. The walls between the doors are not so carefully made, and the stones have not been squared. Only a few niches remain, so that it is impossible to say whether there were niches in the entire building. (See two in A.) There are also a few cylindrical projecting stones, as at Choquequirau. What niches there are have been carefully made. Altogether it is a suitable building for the residence of a king. A very small portion of wall stands as it did originally. Most of the rear doors have been filled up with stones taken from the ruins, in order to make a continuous wall. New walls have also been built to divide the hilltop into pastures. There is considerable grass here, and we saw a number of cattle. There is some evidence of a considerable amount of digging



AN ENTRANCE DOORWAY OF THE LONG PALACE (GROSASPATA)

having taken place near the walls and of the wanton destruction of many in efforts at treasure hunting. The fine doors were much better than any we saw anywhere, except at Macchu Pichu.

Back of the large palace and a few feet above it on the end of the knoll which ends this part of the ridge of Rosaspata is what might fairly be called a palace-compound, consisting of thirteen or fourteen houses arranged so as to form a rectangle, with large and small courts. The outside dimensions of the palace compound are about 161 feet by 146, but it is not perfectly square. The buildings themselves vary from 16 x 22 to 30 x 46.8 feet. A couple of terraces separate the long palace from the palace compound. (See I, Plan 4.) As will be seen from the accompanying plan the architects showed a considerable sense of symmetry. In this group of buildings there is no stone work as fine as that in the long palace. Like it, the walls have been pulled down and very much destroyed. It was impossible to get exact dimensions, and in our measurements we had to approximate them as well as we could from the general direction of the walls. In only one of these buildings could we be sure that there had been any niches. (E on Plan 4.) On the north side of the larger courtyard there is a niche in a wall which may have been a kind of shrine.

The hill falls very rapidly on all sides, and it would have been extremely easy for a small force to have defended the hilltop.

On the opposite side of the plaza, south of the long palace, is a single structure containing three doors on the south side, and *possibly* two on the north side. (H, Plan 4.) The building is 78.5 feet long, and 35 feet wide. It has no niches. There is no evidence of any very careful workmanship. The whole building is in a very ruinous state.

The next day we came down from the hill on the east side to the valley of Andene or Ande, and soon reached a large white granite boulder, which had a carved seat

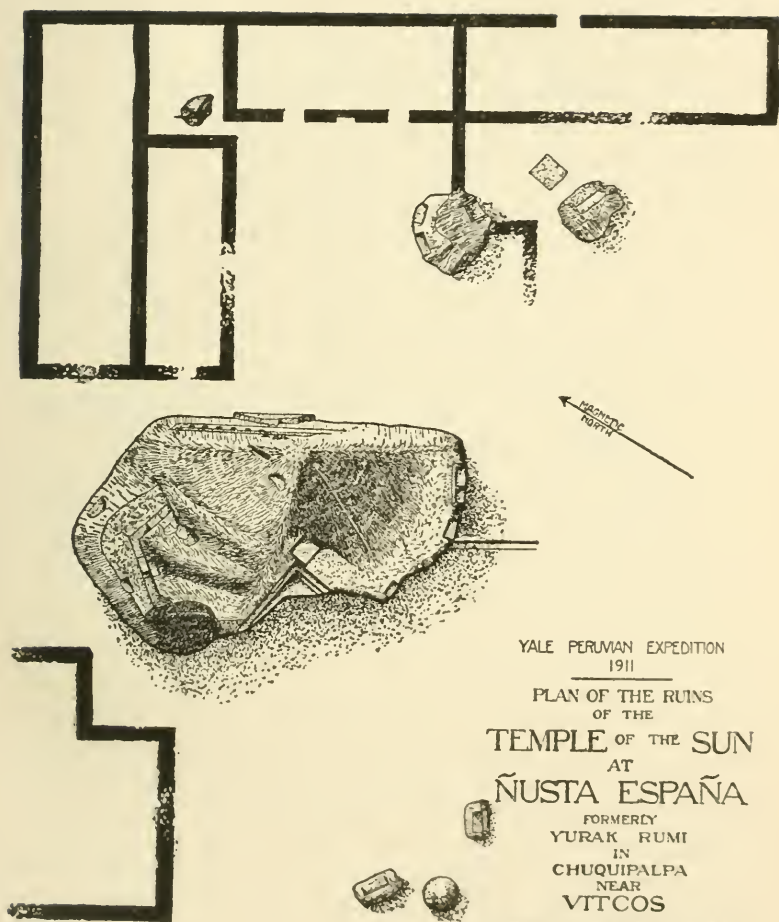
on its north side. It was flattened on top, and on its west side covered a cave, in which were several niches. One of the niches in the cave under the stone is five feet high and 2.1 in width. This had in the back of it a smaller niche 1.6 feet in height, and 1.2 feet in width. The cave was walled on the side away from the rock, and in this wall, below the level of the ground, is another niche. The Indians said there was a spring nearby, and for a few moments I got very much excited, thinking this might be Yurak Rumi, but the spring turned out to be nothing but a small irrigating ditch. It seems to me possible that there may have been a priest's house here in connection with this possibly sacred boulder, and the priest lived in this cave and set up his idols in the niches nearby.⁷⁸

Leaving this boulder and coming up the river, we came to a large number of very handsomely built terraces, and a number of carved boulders, including one that had a large *intihuatana* stone on it, and another that looked something like a saddle.

We had been told that the most interesting place near here was Ñusta España, and that there we would find a great white rock over a spring of water. We arrived at this place at 4 o'clock, and were at once impressed by the truth of what we had heard, and convinced that this was indeed the sacred spot, the center of idolatry in the latter part of the Inca rule, according to Father Calancha. The rock was so much overgrown and surrounded with jungle, especially on two sides, that we made arrangements with the Lieutenant-Governor to have a force of Indians come here the next day and clear the rock so we could take photographs and make measurements of it.

I spent nearly all day at Ñusta España with five Indians, the Lieutenant-Governor, and a soldier. I put in most of my time taking photographs with the utmost

⁷⁸ The boulder is 31 feet in length and twenty-six feet in width. The flat space on top is about five feet square. The seat on the north side is 14½ feet long. A round nubbin, projecting in the middle of the back of the seat, divides it into nearly equal halves.



YALE PERUVIAN EXPEDITION
1911

PLAN OF THE RUINS
OF THE
TEMPLE OF THE SUN
AT
ÑUSTA ESPAÑA
FORMERLY
YURAK RUMI
IN
CHUQUIPALPA
NEAR
VITCOS

DRAWN BY ELTZIGER FROM MEASUREMENTS
AND PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN AUGUST 10, 1911
BY
PROFESSOR HIRAM BINGHAM

SCALE IN FEET
0 12 24 36 48

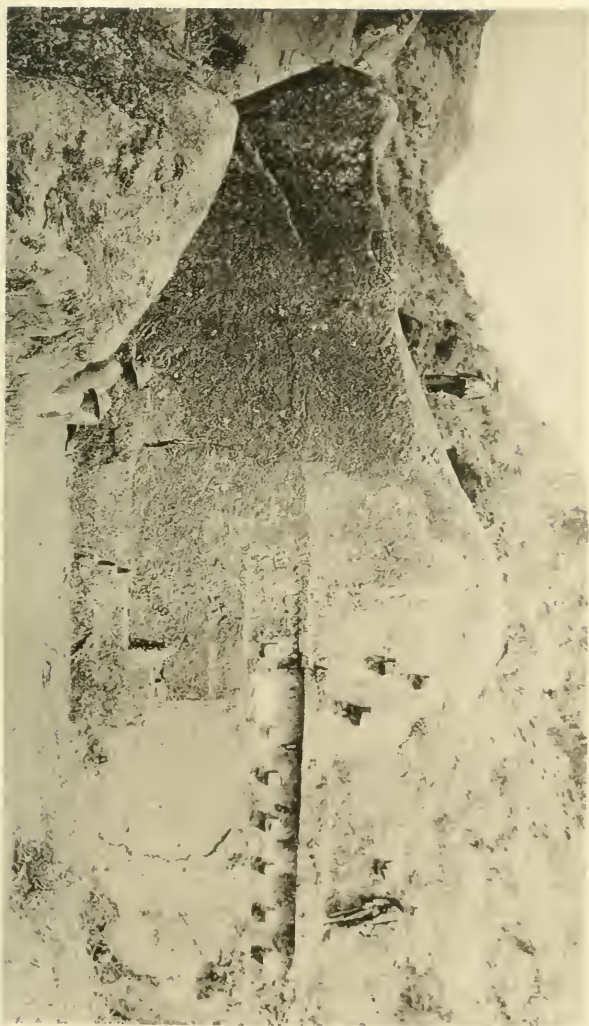
PLAN 5

possible care, and, following the sun around all day, was able to photograph the rock from all sides. Chalk was used to bring out some of the angles on the carved seats. It is difficult to give a vivid impression of this wonderful place.

Ñusta España, or as it was called in early Spanish colonial times, Yurak Rumi, is a white granite boulder, 52 feet in length, 30 feet in width, and 25 feet high, above the present level of the water and swamp that surround it on the east and south sides. (See Plan 5.)

On the south side of the monolith four or five small seats have been cut in the rock, and several large seats. Viewed from this side the rock looks not unlike a miniature mountain. This was probably its natural shape, although nature has been helped to a certain extent. Great care was exercised in cutting out the seats, and the edges are very nearly square and almost straight. In several places on the rock square projections have been left in bold relief, projecting from four to eight inches. The east side of the rock projects over the spring. A stone platform comes down to the water's edge. Near the water steps have been carved. Two seats have been carved out of the rock immediately above the spring. On the north side the rock has evidently been flattened artificially and carved into a rough relief. There are ten projecting square stones, like those usually called *intihuatana* stones. Seven of them in a line have been carved out of the face of the rock. The *intihuatana* stones are about 8 inches square. No two of them are exactly alike. It must have required great labor to carve these out of the flat face of the rock twelve feet above the water. If the projecting stones were intended to cause a shadow, it is significant that they were placed on the north side of the rock, where they would always be exposed to the sun. On the west side there are more seats and large steps. On top of the rock there is a flattened place, which might have been used for sacrifices. From it runs what looks like a little crack⁷⁹ in the boulder which has been artificially en-

⁷⁹ Local tradition says this mark was made by a little princess.



MONOLITH AT ÑESTA ESPAÑA — NORTH SIDE

larged. It is possible that this was intended to drain the blood of the victim killed on top of the rock. This shows in several of the photographs, as rain-water flowing down this crack has kept moss from gathering there as it has gathered over most of the monolith.

Nearly all the large boulders in the vicinity have had seats carved out of them, and there are a number of stone platforms, at present partly covered with swampy ground. In the wall of the temple exactly opposite the north face of the rock is a nicely made niche, and an unusually large stone, finished with a nicely flattened surface.

The surroundings are impressive. Densely wooded hills rise on both sides. It is a secluded spot, well calculated to impress the imagination of the worshippers. There seems to be no doubt that this was a sacred place. Furthermore, as I have said, about one fourth of the boulder overhangs a spring of clear water. Surrounding this are the ruins of houses, probably the House of the Sun, once occupied by the priests who officiated at the ceremonies described by Father Calancha in his Chronicle. The important thing to us in this connection is that he said: "*Joined to Vilcos is a village which is called Chucipalpa, and a House of the Sun, and in it a white stone on top of a spring of water, where the Devil appears in visible form and was adored by these idolators, this being the principal mochadero of these mountains.*" The locality where we found the monolith is called Ñusta España, or Yurac Rumi, and is also known as Chuquepalta. There is a quebrada two days' journey from here, near Urumbaye, that is called Manangua Nunca, and it is there they say that the martyr Diego Ortiz was killed.

Finally, as regards the present town of Vilcabamba: Apparently the first settlement was abandoned after the discovery of some silver mines and the municipality moved to a place called Villa-rica de Argeta, "which was at the place called Onccoy, where the Spaniards who first discovered this land found the flocks and herds."⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Ocampo. p. 222.

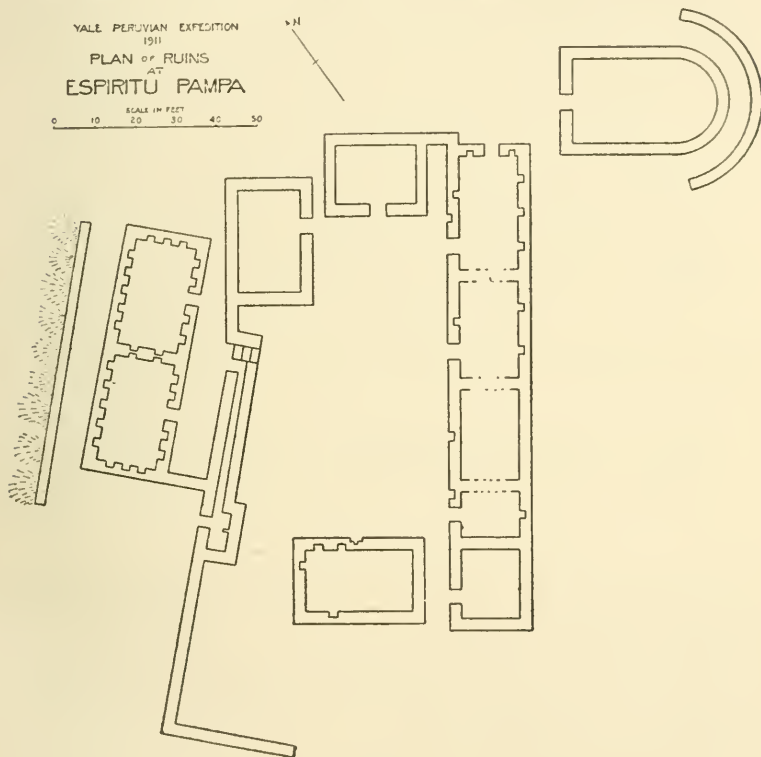
In the negotiations for permission to change the site of the town Ocampo was the chief agent who went to Cuzco and treated with the Viceroy.

"The change of site appeared convenient for the service of God our Lord and of his Majesty, and for the increase of his royal fifths, as well as beneficial to the inhabitants of the said city. Having examined the capitulations and reasons, the said Don Luis de Velasco granted the licence to move the city to where it is now founded, ordering that it should have the title and name of the city of San Francisco of the Victory of Vilcambamba, which was its first name. By this change of site I, the said Baltasar de Ocampo, performed a great service to God our Lord and his Majesty. Through my care, industry, and solicitude, a very good church was built, with its principal chapel and great doors.' ⁸¹

The present village of Vilcabamba, we were told by several of the oldest inhabitants, has for its proper title San Francisco de la Victoria. This enables us to be fairly certain that "the place called Onceoy" is this same basin of Vilcabamba, where there are excellent pasture lands to-day. It is in a cold, bleak region. The altitude is over 10,000 feet. The valley is broad, but too cold for agriculture, consequently it is given up almost entirely to pasture lands. Horses, cattle, and sheep we saw in abundance, but no llamas. We were given a cordial welcome by the Governor, Manuel Condore. He says that this place was formerly San Francisco de la Victoria. His principal servant has a strikingly marked Inca profile, the hawkbeak nose being very prominent. The village of Vilcabamba contains about forty houses, most of them well built of stones and adobe, with roofs thatched with grass. The church which Ocampo took pains to build is still standing. The walls are heavy and massive, well-buttressed, and show considerable "industry and solicitude." Unfortunately the interior has not been well taken care of.

⁸¹ Ocampo, pp. 222-223.

The young Inca, Tupac Amaru, fled from Vitcos, down "the valley of Simaponte." (See above, p. 170.) We know also that the pursuers held a council of war at Banbaconas.⁸² There is no valley in this vicinity that is now called Simaponte, so far as we could discover, but the Mañaries Indians are known to have lived on



PLAN 6

the banks of the lower Urubamba, between that river and the Apurimac. In order to reach the country of the Mañaries Indians, the easiest way would have been to go down the Vilcabamba valley and so down the Urubamba, but this would have been to fly in the face

⁸² See: Juicio de Límites entre el Perú y Bolivia: Vol. VII. *Vilcabamba*. pp. 303-304.

of the Spaniards who were coming up by that road. The other way would naturally be down the Pampaconas valley. We followed a foot trail which leads from the present Vilcabamba basin down the Pampaconas valley to a place called Conservidayo, or Espiritu Pampa, or Vilcapampa, near which we found ruins of a number of well built houses of characteristic Inca architecture. The presence of the customary types of Inca pottery and the characteristics of the architecture which resembles in many respects the buildings of Choquequirau, led me to believe that the Incas had a settlement here, and that there must have been a well travelled foot path from the Vilcabamba valley, certainly down as far as Espiritu Pampa. From here to the country of the Mañaries Indians and to canoe navigation on the Urubamba could not have been more than a two days' journey. At present it would take longer, because the trails have been allowed to become entirely overgrown.

It is my hope on the next expedition to trace the entire course of Loyola's expedition. At present we must rest content with what we have learned about Vitcos.

IV.

In conclusion I should like to sum up the evidence that Rosaspata is Vitcos, and that Ñusta España is the Temple of the Sun:

We have, (1) the statement in Calancha that near Vitcos was a temple of the Sun in which was a white rock over a spring of water;

(2) The description of Vitcos in Ocampo as a place on top of a high mountain, from which a large part of Vilcabamba could be seen;

(3) Ocampo's description of the architecture of the palace at Vitcos, the special fact being mentioned that the doors, both ordinary and principal, were of white marble, beautifully carved.

All three fit the Rosaspata locality. Nearby are the ruins of an ancient building, in which is a large white

rock over a spring of water; the Rosaspata ruins are on top of a conspicuously high hill or mountain, from which the view is fine in all directions, and extends to snow-capped peaks both north and south; the ruins of Rosaspata, unlike those of Macchu Pichu, are noticeable because there are two kinds of doors, ordinary and principal ones, and the doors are carefully carved out of white granite, whereas the doors at Macchu Pichu are not any finer than all the rest of the structure, and would not have attracted particular attention.

In regard to the Temple of the Sun, evidence may be offered as follows:

We find (1) the name Chuquipalpa, or Chuquipalta, is still applied to the vicinity of Ñusta España;

(2) The name Puquiura is still applied to a village where there is a rather large ancient church within easy walking distance of Ñusta España;

(3) Near Puquiura are the remains of a gold quartz crushing plant;

(4) And, most important of all, Ñusta España contains the ruins of edifices clearly Inca in character, and surrounding a large white rock actually over a spring of water, an unusual occurrence. Furthermore, this rock bears in its carvings marks which indicate that at one time in the remote past it was undoubtedly an object of veneration.

This evidence confirms me in the belief that at Ñusta España was the shrine called Yurak Rumi, the principal mochadero of the Indians in Vilcabamba.

Finally, a word of caution. Attention should be called to the fact that we were not able to exhaust all the possibilities, as we have not yet examined every part of the Vilcabamba region, and, until this is done, can not speak positively about the identification of Vitecos, even though it seems extremely probable that Rosaspata is that place. The things that have caused me most to doubt my own conclusions are (1) the fact that I could find no one in the vicinity who had ever heard the name of Vitecos; and (2) that Pichu is much more nearly

like Pitcos than any other place name in the region. I hope on the next expedition to exhaust all the possibilities in the region about Macchu Pichu, and see whether it is possible to work out a different interpretation of the chronicles than the one herewith presented.

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Carta del Conde de Salvatierra á S. M. informándole sobre la supresión del Corregimiento de Vilcabamba, reducción de las doctrinas de Andaguaillas, etc. 30 de Marzo de 1650.

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(Note: In 1908 the Hakluyt Society published as a supplement to this work: Oviedo, Friar Gabriel de. "Account of the Province of Vilcapampa," etc.,—see above, under *Oviedo*.)

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ORDER OF CENTENNIAL EXERCISES.

The One Hundredth Anniversary of the founding of the American Antiquarian Society was celebrated at Worcester, on Tuesday and Wednesday, October 15 and 16, 1912, with the following order of exercises.

October 15, 1912.

Reception at Antiquarian Hall, at 8 o'clock p. m.

October 16, 1912.

Business Meeting at Antiquarian Hall, at 10 o'clock a. m.

Historical Address at Antiquarian Hall, by Charles Grenfill Washburn, at 11 o'clock a. m.

Reception and Luncheon at President Lincoln's house, 1.30 o'clock p. m.

Public Meeting in the Meeting-House of the Second Parish, at 3.30 o'clock p. m., with addresses by Henry Cabot Lodge and Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin.

Centennial Dinner at the Worcester Club, at 7 o'clock p. m.

The following members, arranged in order of seniority of election, were present at the centennial exercises:

Nathaniel Paine, Albert H. Hoyt, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Samuel Swett Green, Henry Cabot Lodge, Andrew McF. Davis, Rev. Joseph Anderson, Reuben Colton, Henry H. Edes, James Phinney Baxter, A. George Bullock, G. Stanley Hall, John McK. Merriam, William E. Foster, Edwin D. Mead, Charles Francis Adams, Francis H. Dewey, Henry A. Marsh, John Green, Rev. William DeLoss Love, Thomas C. Mendenhall, Ezra S. Stearns, William T. Forbes, George H. Haynes, Arthur Lord, Charles L.

Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, Edward S. Morse, George B. Adams, George P. Winship, Rev. Austin S. Garver, Samuel Utley, James Ford Rhodes, Benjamin T. Hill, George L. Kittredge, Albert Matthews, Alexander F. Chamberlain, William MacDonald, Clarence W. Bowen, Victor H. Paltsits, D. Berkeley Updike, Clarence S. Brigham, Frederick L. Gay, Lincoln N. Kinnicutt, Franklin P. Rice, Worthington C. Ford, Herbert Putnam, Frederick J. Turner, Henry E. Woods, William C. Lane, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Edward L. Stevenson, Julius H. Tuttle, Charles G. Washburn, Samuel B. Woodward, George H. Blakeslee, William V. Kellen, Arthur P. Rugg, Wilfred H. Munro, Justin H. Smith, Henry W. Cunningham, Frank F. Dresser, Albert Bushnell Hart, Rev. Shepherd Knapp, George Francis Dow, Homer Gage, Rev. Henry A. Parker, T. Willing Balch, Archibald Cary Coolidge, Livingston Davis, Archer B. Hulbert, George E. Littlefield, William A. Dunning, Samuel W. Pennypacker, and William Howard Taft; and the following foreign members: James Bryce, Nicolás León, and Federico Alfonso Pezet.

The following institutions were represented by delegates:

American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Henry H. Edes, Boston.

American Geographical Society, David Randall Maciver, New York.

American Historical Association, Prof. William A. Dunning, New York.

American Irish Historical Society, Rev. John J. McCoy, Worcester.

American Philosophical Society, Harrison S. Morris, Philadelphia.

Amherst College, Prof. William C. Esty, Worcester.

Boston University, President Lemuel H. Murlin, Boston.

Bowdoin College, Hon. James Phinney Baxter, Portland.

Brown University, Prof. William MacDonald, Providence.

Clark College, Prof. Samuel P. Capen, Worcester.

Clark University, President G. Stanley Hall, Worcester.

Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Hon. Marcus P. Knowlton, Springfield.

Connecticut Historical Society, Rev. Samuel Hart, Middletown, Conn.

Dartmouth College, Prof. Charles F. Richardson, Hanover, N. H.

Essex Institute, Francis H. Appleton, Peabody, Mass.

Hamilton College, Frank H. Robson, Worcester.

Harvard University, Prof. George L. Kittredge, Cambridge.

Maine Historical Society, Hon. James Phinney Baxter, Portland.

Massachusetts Historical Society, Charles Francis Adams, Boston.

New England Historic Genealogical Society, William P. Greenlaw, Boston.

New Hampshire Historical Society, Frank W. Hackett, Concord, N. H.

New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, Clarence W. Bowen, New York.

New York Historical Society, Francis R. Schell, East Northfield, Mass.

Pennsylvania Historical Society, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, Philadelphia.

Pennsylvania, University of, Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, Philadelphia.

Princeton University, Robert McNutt McElroy, Princeton, N. J.

Rhode Island Historical Society, Wilfred H. Munro, Providence.

Worcester Society of Antiquity, James Green, Worcester.

Yale University, Prof. George B. Adams, New Haven.

Canadian Institute, Toronto, Alexander F. Chamberlain, Worcester.

Museo Nacional, Mexico City, Dr. Nicolás León, Mexico City.

Society of Antiquaries of London, David Randall Maciver, New York.

There were also the following invited guests: William Howard Taft, President of the United States; Federico Alfonso Pezet, Minister from Peru; John Alden Thayer, Congressman from the Third District of Massachusetts; David F. O'Connell, Mayor of Worcester; Robert K. Shaw, Librarian of the Worcester Public Library; Louis N. Wilson, Librarian of Clark University; George E. Wire, Librarian of the Worcester County Law Library; and William R. Thomas, of Andover, Mass., a descendant of Isaiah Thomas.

P R O C E E D I N G S .

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 16, 1912, AT
THE HALL OF THE SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

The one hundredth annual meeting of the Society was held in the Manuscript Room of Antiquarian Hall, at half past ten o'clock, on Wednesday morning, October 16, 1912.

The Secretary read the call for the meeting. The reading of the records was dispensed with and they were accepted as printed in the Proceedings.

The Report of the Council was read by Dr. Charles L. Nichols. This, with the reports of the Treasurer and Librarian, was accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.

The President read the following letter from Mr. Frederick Lewis Gay, of Brookline:

WALDO LINCOLN, *President*,
American Antiquarian Society.

DEAR SIR:—

In the Proceedings of the semi-annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, held in Boston, April 24, 1867, the Records of the Council for New England from the last of May, 1622, to June 21, 1623, were published. The copy for the publication was made from a transcript in the Public Record Office in London. Later, what was apparently the original record from which this transcript was made was discovered to be in the possession of the Carew family, of Crowcombe Court, Somersetshire, England. I now take great pleasure in giving the Carew manuscript to the American Antiquarian Society, under whose roof it seems fitting that it should find a final resting-place.

Very sincerely yours,

FREDERICK LEWIS GAY.

Upon motion of Vice-president Davis, it was voted that the grateful thanks of the Society be extended to Mr. Gay for the gift of this very important and priceless manuscript, containing the original official records of the corporate actions of the men who were in a large measure responsible for the foundation of New England, during a critical and most important period of our history.¹

The President appointed as a committee to collect and count the ballots; for President, Messrs. Herbert Putnam, T. Willing Balch, and George B. Adams; for other officers, Messrs. Henry H. Edes, Austin S. Garver and Charles L. Nichols.

Mr. Putnam reported the unanimous election of WALDO LINCOLN as President; and Mr. Edes reported the following list of officers, who were, the polls having been duly opened and closed, elected:

Vice-Presidents:

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston, Mass.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., of Cambridge, Mass.

Councillors:

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

SAMUEL UTLEY, LL.B., of Worcester, Mass.

ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG, LL.D., of Worcester, Mass.

CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M.D., of Worcester, Mass.

FRANCIS HENSHAW DEWEY, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM, A.B., of Boston, Mass.

CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN, Ph.D., of New York, N. Y.

¹ An account of this volume of Records, written by the Librarian of the Society, will be found on p. 237 of this issue of the Proceedings.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, Litt.D., of Portland, Me.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln, Mass.

Recording Secretary:

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP, A.M., of Providence, R. I.

Treasurer:

AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester, Mass.

Committee of Publication:

FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE, of Worcester, Mass.

GEORGE HENRY HAYNES, Ph.D., of Worcester, Mass.

CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS, M.D., of Worcester, Mass.

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE, of Dedham, Mass.

Auditors:

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B., of Worcester, Mass.

HENRY ALEXANDER MARSH, of Worcester, Mass.

The Recording Secretary was duly sworn to the faithful performance of his duties by Francis H. Dewey, Justice of the Peace.

Messrs. Cunningham and Kittredge were appointed a committee to collect and count the ballots for the persons recommended by the Council for membership, and they reported the election of

Resident members:

William Archibald Dunning, New York, N. Y.

Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, Pennypacker's Mills, Penn.

William Howard Taft, Washington, D. C.

Lyon Gardiner Tyler, Williamsburg, Va.

Foreign member:

Federico Alfonso Pezet, Peru.

Upon motion of the Treasurer, it was Voted

That the Society authorize the purchase from the Worcester Art Museum of land adjoining this building, 20,000 square feet, more or less, at a price not to exceed \$5,000; and that in payment for the same the President and Treasurer are hereby authorized to execute and deliver the note of the Society, payable in five years from its date and bearing interest at the rate of four per cent per annum payable semi-annually; and that said officers are further authorized to execute and deliver a mortgage of said land as security for the payment of said note.

It was voted that all the proceedings of the day be referred to the Committee of Publication.

The meeting then adjourned.

GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP,

Recording Secretary.

At the close of the meeting, the members descended to the Hall below, where in company with a large audience, they listened to the Historical Address by Charles Grenfill Washburn, printed elsewhere in this issue of Proceedings. After the Address, President Lincoln announced that the time was opportune for any addresses or remarks from the delegates of other Societies or learned institutions.

Mr. Henry H. Edes, of Boston, representing the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, then read the following address of salutation from that society:

THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
TO THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

Greeting: Desiring to convey to your Society, on its hundredth anniversary, a due expression of our sentiments of affection and respect, we have delegated Henry Herbert Edes, a Fellow of our Academy, to represent us on that occasion.

Your Founder was not only an eminent citizen of the Republic of Letters, but also a man of affairs. Accordingly, he conceived for the

Society which he established and endowed, a function distinct, in significant respects, from that of any similar body of scholars. The wisdom of your governors, supported by the faithfulness of your members, and furthered by the munificence of successive benefactors, has so administered his foundation, for a complete century, that the original plan has developed into a constant policy. From decade to decade this policy has become more and more definite, and has operated with ever increasing efficiency, until now, on this day of festival, the American Antiquarian Society holds a position unique and unassailable. Your aims and ideals are broad and liberal, but so well controlled within the limits of your special activities that you compete with no other historical or antiquarian organization, but aid and supplement the efforts of them all. Your publications are indispensable to the investigator. Your priceless accumulations of material, steadily augmented on well considered principles, are the delight of every student of American history and American literature. Your hospitality gives "a largess universal like the sun." You move forward—without haste, without rest—helpful, benevolent, and gracious, clothed with the dignity of age and instinct with the vigor of youth. The measure of your prosperity in time to come will be that of your achievements in the past. For to you the past is but an earnest of the future and your reward is "the wages of going on."

JOHN TROWBRIDGE, *President*.

Given at Boston this sixteenth day of October in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twelve.

Mr. Edes also read the following tribute from the Colonial Society of Massachusetts:

THE
COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS
TO THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

Greeting: We have commissioned our associate, The Honorable Marcus Perrin Knowlton, to convey to you at the joyous festival that marks the centennial anniversary of your organization our profound and respectful felicitations.

These hundred years of faithful and fruitful labor have enabled you to contribute to human knowledge and scholarship a rich and valued service for which all students of history join in justly merited praise. A right understanding of the lives and deeds of the fathers is a precious legacy to posterity, and for your generous share in this gift we offer our tribute of gratitude and appreciation.

HENRY LEFAVOUR, *President*.

CHARLES EDWARDS PARK, *Corresponding Secretary*.

Given at Boston this sixteenth day of October in the year of Our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twelve.

Short remarks were then made by Frank W. Hackett representing the New Hampshire Historical Society, Rev. John J. McCoy representing the American Irish Historical Society, Harrison S. Morris representing the American Philosophical Society, Francis H. Appleton representing the Essex Institute, Alexander F. Chamberlain representing the Canadian Institute of Toronto, Samuel W. Pennypacker representing the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the University of Pennsylvania, William A. Dunning representing the American Historical Association, Clarence W. Bowen representing the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, Wilfred H. Munro representing the Rhode Island Historical Society, James Phinney Baxter representing the Maine Historical Society and Bowdoin College, William P. Greenlaw representing the New England Historic Genealogical Society, George L. Kittredge representing Harvard University, Rev. Samuel Hart representing the Connecticut Historical Society, and by other delegates. The meeting was then dissolved, and the members proceeded to the house of President Lincoln on Elm street, where they were entertained at luncheon.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

One year has passed since our first meeting in these commodious quarters, and a little more than eighteen months since the last books were transferred from the former building on Court Hill. We still retain the first feeling of satisfaction with the new hall, and of relief, because of the safety of our possessions in it. But sufficient time has now elapsed to enable us to discover the limitations to the usefulness of this building which only occupation will make plain, and which are almost inevitable however well the plans may have been conceived and executed. It is of great importance that a building such as this should have its acoustic properties as nearly perfect as possible, both for the sake of the quiet so essential to the student and for the benefit of speaker and hearers alike, at the meetings held within its walls. In this particular the new hall is not as successful as was expected, although all reasonable precautions were taken by the building committee. Consideration of the plans to this end resulted in a change in the height of the dome and in other minor details. Upon the completion of the building this defect was marked, but it was hoped that the difficulty would be removed when the alcove shelves were filled with books and the paintings were hung upon the walls. This was not the case, and while decided improvement was observed there remained much to be desired.

Conference by the President and the Librarian with Professor Wallace C. Sabine of Cambridge, without question the highest authority in this country upon architectural acoustics, has resulted in the treatment of the main hall with the curtains which are now in position,

until changes can be decided upon which will promise permanent removal of the difficulty with the least possible expense to the Society.

A gift, or loan, by some of our generous friends, of four tapestries which could hang in the panels at the four corners of the hall, would at once beautify the room, and remove one of the most serious difficulties of this problem. It is not necessary to describe the effect of various materials which make up wall surfaces in connection with the phenomena of interference and resonance, at this time, but it may be of interest to state that Professor Sabine calculated that the sound waves were repeated fourteen times in a second in various parts of the hall. The letter of advice written by him should be included in this report, and is as follows:

MY DEAR MR. BRIGHAM:

July 9, 1912.

I am sending this letter as a résumé of our conversation on the occasion of my recent visit to the building of the American Antiquarian Society.

The steps which you are taking with the green denim, or burlap, hanging in the four openings, is in the right direction, although it would be well to extend the treatment over the whole of the four openings.

It would be well also for you to place the speaker on one of the axes of the room, if possible behind one of the columns, and to place over him a sounding-board. This sounding-board should be nearly horizontal, and constructed of pine sheathing. It may be decorated in any way that you please, except that it should not have anything hanging down in front of it by way of drapery.

Since talking with you, it has occurred to me that you can get a very effective treatment for the surfaces of your panels, and for some of the flat surfaces over the book stacks, without altering the present appearance, by a treatment which is now being installed by the Johns-Manville Company, 55 High Street, Boston, Massachusetts. This treatment will leave the surface in appearance exactly as it is at present.

It will be acoustically more absorbent even than your burlap or denim, although I am inclined to think I should recommend the burlap in addition.

One suggestion I must make in regard to the burlap. The impression is not uncommon, that out of sight is out of hearing, and you should therefore enforce very rigid rules in regard to walking or talking on the other side of the curtains. This should be particularly enforced at the entrance. In fact, I would strongly recommend that you draw your curtains to one side so that everyone will be conscious that he is in the presence of the audience as soon as he enters, and that his talking is a

distinct disturbance. I would also strongly recommend that you close all windows on the street side of the building at the time of the exercises.

The tiling to which I referred is the Guastivino tile, and the address of the company is the R. Guastivino Company, 60 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts. I am inclined to think that I should recommend the Johns-Manville treatment instead of the tile as producing less alteration in the appearance of your room.

Very truly yours,

WALLACE C. SABINE.

This subject has been dwelt upon at some length in order to explain the difficulties of the problem and the present arrangements for temporary relief.

A less serious defect is worthy of note, because of the ingenious method employed to obviate it. It was discovered that the air in the upper room of the stack building became excessively hot during the summer days, the thermometer frequently attaining the height of 100° and even 110° Farenheit. This was a serious inconvenience to those working on that floor, and would result in deterioration of the bindings of books placed upon those shelves. Absorption of heat by the black, smooth tar coating of the roof was the cause of this excessive heat, and consultation with various persons resulted in various suggestions, some of which involved considerable expense. The experiment was eventually tried of covering the roof with several inches of standing water with a very satisfactory result.

This method being impracticable for permanent use, it was suggested that a coating of white asbestine paint might produce the same end. Two-thirds of the roof was so coated, the remainder being left unchanged, for the sake of the experiment. Examination by Professor French, of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, resulted in the following report:

August 12, 1912.

Temperature taken at 4.15 P. M. with the bulbs of thermometers placed in contact with the concrete ceiling of the stack room of the American Antiquarian Society showed the following condition: Under the roof painted white, 90.5 F. Under the black roof, 109.8 F.

(Signed) A. W. FRENCH.

This simple and inexpensive treatment of the problem has resulted in marked relief, and it seems worthy of note in this report that a reduction of twenty degrees should have been effected by this ingenious method. There remains little to be said at this time, in addition to the above, except renewed congratulations upon the convenience and attractiveness of our building, which we believe is already evidenced by the increased number of workers as well as visitors who have found their way to the new hall.

Since our April meeting the Society has lost two members by death: the Rev. Daniel Merriman, D.D., of Boston, and James Willson Brooks, Esq., of Petersham. The Rev. Daniel Merriman died on September 18th, at the age of seventy-four years. He was elected a member of this Society in 1884, and during the period of twenty-eight years was a constant attendant at its meetings and was always faithful to its traditions. Mr. James Willson Brooks died on September 19th in Petersham. He was admitted to membership in the year 1900. In addition to these members, we should have noted before this meeting the death on September 9th, 1911, of Francis A. March, LL.D., at Easton, Pennsylvania. He became a member of this Society in 1881. Obituary notices of these members will appear in the printed proceedings of this meeting.

The Committee of Publication has prepared the usual volume of the Proceedings of the April meeting, and has distributed it to the members. In addition to this work, a most important publication has been placed by them in your hands. By the generous efforts of our associate, Charles G. Washburn, the original records of this Society from 1812 to 1849, which had never been printed, were transcribed and prepared for the press. All of the addresses delivered before the Society during this period, some of which had not been printed, together with the official reports of these years, were incorporated with the proceedings. These records have been examined with infinite care by the President and the Librarian, the

references have been verified, and important notes added. With an introduction written by President Lincoln, this makes a worthy volume. The propriety of doing this work for the present anniversary will commend itself to all, and we can congratulate ourselves on the possession of a substantial book which completes the list of the Proceedings of this Society from its inception in 1812 to the present day. The Committee of Publication takes this occasion to place the entire credit for this volume upon the members already named and the official staff of the Library.

There have been several meetings of the Council since our April meeting, but, in each case, the object has been to perfect, with the Committee of Arrangements, those plans which see their fruition on this day. It was with regret that, at one of these meetings, our associate, Franklin B. Dexter, declined re-election as a Councillor because of the added burden of advancing years. Dr. Dexter has held the office of Secretary for Foreign Correspondence since 1897. He was elected at that time—the worthy successor of J. Hammond Trumbull, and the unstinted use of his strength and ability in behalf of the Council and this Society needs no comment here.

At such an anniversary as this it would be natural to turn curious eyes toward the past, and to seek to review the process of development of this body, the Council of our Society. At the first meeting of the American Antiquarian Society in Boston on November 19, 1812, it was voted that the four officers be constituted the Counsellors until the report of the Committee on By-Laws was presented. These officers were Isaiah Thomas, President, William D. Peck, Vice-President, Thaddeus M. Harris, Corresponding Secretary, and Samuel M. Burnside, Recording Secretary, and therefore they constituted the first Council. When the By-Laws were adopted at the meeting of February 3, 1813, provision was made in them for a Council of seven members in addition to the President and two Vice-Presidents, who were duly elected at that meeting. It was soon discovered, however, that full

and frequent meetings of this body were impossible because of the seven-hour ride from Boston and vicinity, where more than half of the Council resided. In those early days, when frequent consultations and active labor were needed to develop the infant society into a vigorous youth, this was a serious problem, and, in order to remedy this and other defects of organization, a revision of the Laws was adopted in 1815, which radically changed the character of that body. It was enacted that the Council be composed of two Sub-councils, the President and the Vice-Presidents being members *ex officio*, together with a Counsellor from each of the United States, from Plymouth Old Colony and from the district of Maine. Five members residing in the vicinity of the Library and the Cabinet constituted the Sub-council of Worcester, and five members living in or near Boston made up the Sub-council of that town. The wisdom of this change will be seen at once, both with regard to the division of work among the two Sub-councils and the extension of a knowledge of the Society's interests throughout the other states. In the latter case another important provision is seen in the appointment of receiving officers at certain convenient centers, whose duty it was to retain all books and other bequests obtained through the State Counsellors until they could be safely forwarded—in those days of uncertain travel—to their destination in Worcester. A glance at the names of these State Counsellors and the receiving officers elected from year to year shows the benefit which must have accrued to the new society by this wise provision, even from the personal influence of and the added interest gained through these officers themselves. Of the two Sub-councils, that for Worcester was the more important, and to it was delegated largely the duty of selecting the State Counsellors and the various committees, as well as of filling all vacancies which occurred between the stated meetings of the Society.

When in a few years the organization became well known and a special building was erected for the proper

housing of the books and other gifts to the Society, this long list of officers was found cumbersome and unnecessary. In 1829 a committee was instructed again to consider a revision, and in October, 1831, after the death of the President, Isaiah Thomas, this committee reported the Laws of the Society, which have remained in force with little change since that date. The Sub-councils were abolished, and a Council composed of ten members, in addition to the seven officers of the Society, was instituted as it stands to-day.

The Worcester meetings of the Sub-council from 1812 to 1831 were, with few exceptions, in the spacious mansion of the President which stood on Court Hill until it was moved in 1842 to the rear—its present location,—in order to admit of the erection of the stone Court House. This mansion is the sole survivor of the buildings which have successively held our library and witnessed the meetings of our Council. Many references are to be found in the diary of Isaiah Thomas regarding these meetings, and as they were called at six o'clock we can infer that the generous hospitality of the President, for which he was noted, was a feature of these occasions. The meetings were held in the room prepared by Mr. Thomas for the books which he had given to the Society, and which was specifically designated "the Library room," and this plan was continued until the first hall was erected in 1820. From this time occasional meetings were held at the new hall during the summer months,—only, as the wise restriction regarding the heating of that building rendered a later use of it impracticable.

Could we draw aside the veil and view the first meeting of the first Council at which the gift of the Thomas Library was discussed or look in upon any of those early meetings, it would add much to our present interest and enthusiasm. No record of them has been found, however, except of the one held in Boston, October, 1813, to make preparations for the first anniversary of the Society, until the formation of the Sub-councils in 1815. The Journal of the Sub-council "in the Vicinity of the

Library and Cabinet at Worcester, Massachusetts," which began with the first meeting in February, 1815, and ended in 1831, is intact and is in the archives of this Society.

These records show that brief yearly reports upon the condition of the Library and the collections were made by the Council to the Society, and that occasional appeals were issued also to the members and to the public at large for more personal effort and more generous gifts. There is little else of present interest in these reports, but they show on every page an abiding faith in the growth of the Society and a deep conviction of its future usefulness. This faith and this conviction have been transmitted to the successive Councils as the years have passed, and have been perhaps largely responsible for the present prosperous condition of our Society, and of its enlarging usefulness to the scholars of to-day.

It is of interest to note that two of the names which appeared on the petition for the incorporation of the society in 1812 are represented in the membership of the present Council, Levi Lincoln and Nathaniel Paine. The great-grandson of the first is our honored President, Waldo Lincoln, and the grand-son of the second is our revered associate, Nathaniel Paine. Instances like this of an inherited interest in and of unremitting efforts for the benefit of an organization may be considered as sufficient evidence of its sterling worth, as well as a guarantee of the large growth and ultimate success which such an organization is sure to attain. The day of narrow boundaries for this Society has passed, and as we erect on this anniversary the golden milestone of our existence, we can inscribe on its face the names of cities in every quarter of the globe, as was the custom in the imperial city of long ago. Within these cities dwell the members of our Society, and upon each one rests the obligation and the privilege of extending its reputation and enlarging its usefulness.

CHARLES L. NICHOLS,
For the Council.

OBITUARIES.

JAMES WILLSON BROOKS.

James Willson Brooks was born in Petersham, Mass., August 7, 1833, the son of Aaron and Martha Amelia (Willson) Brooks, and died in that town September 20, 1912.

He was graduated from Brown University in 1855 and from Harvard Law School in 1858. He practiced law in Boston till 1875, when he returned to his native town and resided there during the remainder of his life. He held no public office, but took an active part in town affairs, giving land for the High School, assisting in establishing the Memorial Library and aiding in bringing to the town the Harvard School of Forestry. President Lincoln appointed him Vice-Consul in Paris during the period of the Civil War, which office he held for about two years. He was president and manager of various business associations, but in recent years had led a retired life. He had never married.

He was elected to this Society in 1900 and was a regular and interested attendant at its meetings. S. U.

FRANCIS ANDREW MARCH.

Francis Andrew March was born in Millbury, Mass., October 25, 1825, and died in Easton, Penn., September 9, 1911. He was graduated from Amherst in 1845 as valedictorian of his class, and was tutor in academies and in Amherst College for several years. In 1850 he was admitted to the bar in New York City, but ill health compelled him to retire from practice and resume teaching, which became his life work. In 1855 he became

connected with Lafayette College as a tutor and in the following year became adjunct professor of Belles Lettres and English Literature. In 1857 he was chosen professor of English Language and Comparative Philology, the first professorship of its kind in any college, which position he held till 1906, when he became Professor Emeritus.

Philosophical, philological and linguistic studies have largely occupied his attention and have given him great fame, at home and abroad, and his publications number several hundred titles. He was a member of many learned societies, American and foreign, including this Society, to which he was elected in 1881. These honorary degrees have been conferred upon him: LL.D., Princeton 1870, Amherst 1871; L.H.D., Columbia 1887; D.C.L., Oxford 1896; Litt.D., Cambridge, England, and Princeton 1896.

S. U.

DANIEL MERRIMAN.

Daniel Merriman was born in Manchester, Vt., December 3, 1838, and died at Intervale, N. H., September 18, 1912. He was graduated from Williams College in 1863 but his studies were interrupted by service as first lieutenant and later as adjutant in the 132d Illinois regiment in the Civil War, after which he entered Andover Theological Seminary, graduating in 1868. He was pastor of the Broadway Church in Norwich, Conn., from 1868 to 1875, and of the Central Church, in Worcester from 1878 to 1901, since when he has been pastor emeritus of that Church.

The degree of D.D. was conferred on him by Ripon College in 1881, by Williams in 1881 and by Yale in 1898. His interest in education was constant and he was trustee of Williams College, of Worcester Polytechnic Institute, of Atlanta University and of Abbott Academy at Andover. He was a member of the National Geographical Society, of the American Historical Association, of the Archæological Institute of America, and of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. He was elected

to this Society in 1884, and always maintained an interest in its concerns. In 1905 he contributed to its Proceedings an article entitled "Jeremy Taylor and religious liberty in the English Church" and at various times wrote obituary notices of its members. The Society has also received from him many books and pamphlets.

On September 1, 1874, Dr. Merriman married Helen Bigelow, who with one son, our associate, Roger Bigelow Merriman, survives him.

S. U.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer presents his Annual Report of receipts and expenditures for the year ending September 30th, 1912, and a statement of the investments of the Society.

The Assets October 1st, 1912, are \$491,441.51 and are invested as follows:—

Bonds	\$250,246.00
Stocks	38,268.00
Mortgage Loans	15,100.00
Real Estate	184,900.00
Cash on deposit in Bank	2,927.51

\$491,441.51

Of this amount, \$489,957.32 represents the principal and \$1,484.19 the unexpended income October 1st, 1912. This latter sum stands credited to the income of the various funds.

The Centennial Fund has been increased during the year by the following gifts:—

Frederick A. Ober	\$5.00
James Phinney Baxter	100.00
Franklin B. Dexter	100.00
Justin H. Smith	100.00
Lincoln N. Kinnicutt	200.00
Samuel V. Hoffman	5,000.00
Clarence M. Burton	100.00
Henry H. Edes	250.00
Isabella H. Corey, in memory of Deloraine P. Corey	500.00

In addition to the above we have received since the books were closed a gift of \$1,000.00 to the Centennial Fund, which will appear in the next report.

A. G. BULLOCK,
Treasurer.

PRINCIPAL ACCOUNT.

Principal Oct. 1, 1911.....		\$481,977.74
Principal received since Oct. 1, 1911.		
Life Membership Fees.....	\$150.00	
Frederick A. Ober for Centennial Fund.....	5.00	
James Phinney Baxter " ".....	100.00	
Franklin B. Dexter " ".....	100.00	
Justin H. Smith " ".....	100.00	
Lincoln N. Kinnicutt " ".....	200.00	
Samuel V. Hoffman " ".....	5,000.00	
Clarence M. Burton " ".....	100.00	
Henry H. Edes " ".....	250.00	
Isabella H. Corey in memory of Deloraine P. Corey.....	500.00	
James L. Whitney Fund.....	80.12	
Sale of books to credit Purchasing Fund.....	900.00	
Purchasing Fund income balance added to principal.....	107.52	
Gift of a friend to special Gifts Fund.....	100.00	
Income Special Gifts added to principal.....	22.44	
Sale of securities in excess of book value.....	364.50	
	<u>\$8,079.58</u>	
Expended for books from Special Gifts Fund....	100.00	7,979.58
		<u>\$489,957.32</u>

INCOME ACCOUNT.

Unexpended Income, Oct. 1, 1911.....	\$2,938.11	
Income from Investments.....	13,884.13	
Assessments.....	375.00	
Sale of Books.....	214.40	\$ 17,411.64
		<u>\$507,368.96</u>

EXPENDITURES.

Incidental Expenses.....	\$258.70	
Salaries.....	6,959.88	
Treasurer & Office Expense.....	520.83	
Light, Heat, Water & Telephone.....	818.27	
Supplies.....	267.55	
Books (Less \$100 charged to Special Gifts)...	3,038.87	
Publishing.....	1,735.35	
Binding.....	577.29	
Care of Grounds.....	149.74	
Work on Manuscripts.....	365.10	
Extra Service.....	499.51	
Additional Furnishings.....	460.35	
Centennial Celebrations.....	146.05	
Income transferred to principal.....	129.96	\$ 15,927.45
		<u>\$491,441.51</u>
Assets,		

ASSETS, OCT. 1, 1912.

Bonds.....	\$250,246.00	
Stocks.....	38,268.00	
Mortgage Loans.....	15,100.00	
Real Estate.....	184,900.00	
Cash on deposit in Bank.....	2,927.51	\$491,441.51
Unexpended balances Oct. 1, 1912,		1,484.19
Principal Oct. 1, 1912.....		\$489,957.32

CONDITION OF THE FUND ACCOUNTS

Fund	Principal	Unexpended Income 1911.	Income 1912	Expended 1912	Balance 1912
Alden	\$1,000.00		\$47.50	\$47.50	
Bookbinding	7,500.00	\$410.20	356.25	577.29	\$189.16
George Chandler	500.00	3.03	23.75	25.19	1.59
Collection & Research	17,000.00	14.63	807.50	822.13	
I. & E. L. Davis	20,000.00	327.31	950.00	913.02	364.29
J. & Eliza Davis	4,900.00	62.51	232.75	281.43	13.83
F. H. Dewey	4,800.00	27.81	228.00	242.48	13.33
G. E. Ellis	17,500.00	991.55	831.25	1,822.80	
Librarians & General	35,000.00		1,876.90	1,876.90	
Haven	1,500.00	8.46	71.25	75.88	3.83
Library Building	184,900.00				
Life Membership	3,100.00	23.23	147.25	170.48	
Lincoln Legacy	7,000.00	345.79	332.50	678.29	
Publishing	32,000.00		1,520.00	1,520.00	
Salisbury Legacy	105,600.00	518.38	5,016.00	5,534.38	
Tenny	5,000.00		237.50	237.50	
B. F. Thomas Local History	1,000.00	6.13	47.50	50.67	2.96
Special Gifts	*494.94		22.44	22.44	
Frances W. Haven	2,000.00		95.00	95.00	
Purchasing	*3,673.43		170.52	170.52	
Charles F. Washburn	5,000.00		237.50	237.50	
Centennial	22,020.33	199.08	838.37	142.25	895.20
Eliza D. Dodge	3,000.00		142.50	142.50	
Hunnewell	5,000.00		237.50	237.50	
James Lyman Whitney	80.12		3.80	3.80	
	\$489,568.82	\$2,938.11	\$14,473.53	\$15,927.45	\$1,484.19

* Balance of Income added to Principal.

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

BONDS.	PER CENT.	PAR.	BOOK.
Am. Telephone & Telegraph Co.....	4	\$11,000	\$11,000
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R....	4	2,000	1,540
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R....	4	1,000	885
Baltimore & Ohio R. R.....	3½	5,000	4,637
Boston & Maine R. R.....	3½	5,000	4,593
Boston Elevated Railway Co.....	4	2,000	2,000
Boston Elevated Railway Co.....	4½	8,000	7,960
Baltimore, Md., City of.....	4	15,000	15,000
Boston, Mass., City of.....	3½	15,000	14,325
Brockton, Mass., City of.....	4	2,000	2,000
Chicago, Ill., City of.....	4	8,000	8,000
Duluth, Minn., City of.....	4	2,000	1,940
Chicago, Burlington & Quincy R. R....	4	5,000	5,000
Chicago, & Eastern Illinois R. R.....	5	9,000	9,000
Chicago, Indiana & Southern R. R....	4	12,000	10,920
Congress Hotel Co.....	6	5,000	5,000
Ellicott Sq. Co., Buffalo, N. Y.....	5	5,000	5,000
Fitchburg R. R.....	3½	10,000	9,300
Illinois Central R. R.....	3½	2,000	2,000
Jersey City, N. J., City of.....	4	5,000	4,931
Lake Shore & Michigan Southern R.R.	4	5,000	4,621
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill Ry....	5	7,000	6,570
Marlboro & Westboro Ry. Co.....	5	1,000	1,000
Memphis, Tenn., City of.....	4	5,000	4,887
Middletown, Conn., City of.....	3½	5,000	4,700
New York, City of.....	4½	20,000	20,000
N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.....	4	10,000	10,000
N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.....	3½	50	50
N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R.....	6	2,200	2,189
Old Colony R. R.....	4	3,000	2,970
Omaha, Neb., City of.....	4½	15,000	15,000
Penobscot Shore Line R. R. Co.....	4	5,000	4,943
Père Marquette R. R.....	4	5,000	5,000
Quincy, Mass., City of.....	4	2,000	2,000
Seattle Electric Co.....	5	5,000	5,000
Southern Indiana R. R.....	4	2,000	2,000
Union Pacific R. R.....	4	500	450
Waterbury, Conn., City of.....	4	10,000	9,600
Western Electric Co.....	5	5,000	5,056
West End St. Ry. Co.....	4	1,000	1,000
Wilkesbarre & Eastern R. R.....	5	2,000	2,000
Woonsocket, R. I., City of.....	4	12,000	11,179
Worcester & Marlboro St. Ry. Co....	5	3,000	3,000
Worcester & Webster St. Ry. Co....	5	2,000	2,000

 \$250,246

Stocks.	Par Value	Book Value.
Shares		
24 Am. Tel. & Tel. Co.....	\$ 2,400	\$ 2,400
11 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R....	1,100	687
32 National Bank of Commerce, Boston...	3,200	3,200
6 Fitchburg National Bank.....	600	600
50 Fitchburg Railroad Co.....	5,000	5,000
35 Mass. Gas Light Companies (Pref.)....	3,500	2,900
68 N. Y., N. H. & H. R. R. Co.....	6,800	8,450
30 Northern R. R. (N. H.).....	3,000	3,000
3 Old Boston National Bank.....	300	300
11 Old South Building Trust (Pref.).....	1,100	981
30 Union Pacific R. R. (Com.).....	3,000	3,000
16 Webster & Atlas National Bank.....	1,600	1,800
25 West End St. Ry. Co. (Pref.).....	1,250	1,250
12 Worcester Gas Light Co.....	1,200	1,600
25 Worcester National Bank.....	2,500	2,500
6 Worcester Trust Co.....	600	600
		<hr/> \$38,268

MORTGAGE LOANS.

J. Burwick, Worcester, Mass.....	\$ 2,100
L. L. Mellen, Worcester, Mass.....	1,500
B. F. Sawyer, Worcester, Mass.....	3,500
J. P. Sexton, Trustee, Worcester, Mass.....	8,000
	<hr/> \$15,100

REAL ESTATE.

Library Building.....	\$184,900
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The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, beg leave to state that the books and accounts of the Treasurer, for the year ending September 30, 1912, have been examined by W. Thane Boyden, Accountant, and his certificate that they are correct and properly vouched is herewith submitted.

The Auditors further report that they have personally examined the securities held by the Treasurer and find the same to be as stated by him and the balance of cash on hand duly accounted for.

(Signed) BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL,
HENRY A. MARSH,

Auditors.

October 1, 1912.

WORCESTER, MASS., Oct. 1, 1912.

I hereby certify that I have examined the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society, made up for the year ending September 30, 1912, and find same to be correct and properly vouched.

(Signed) W. THANE BOYDEN,

Accountant.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The year the close of which is marked by the present meeting has been exceptionally busy. The process of getting settled in the new building, the rearrangement of the collections, and the preparation for the centennial have resulted in much extra labor for the library staff and forced a delay in many of the things which we had hoped to do during the year. Yet the stream of gift and purchase has steadily flowed in, and we have not allowed any pressure of additional work to stand in the way of the acquisition of volumes needed to fill out our collections.

Expressed in figures, the accessions of the year have been as follows:

Bound volumes,	2,661
Pamphlets,	3,455
Unbound early newspapers,	1,864
Maps, broadsides and manuscripts,	824
<hr/>	
Total	8,804

About half of the above total has come through purchase and half through gift. This library now depends but little upon gift for the volumes which it needs. We purchase a far larger proportion of our accessions than we did a half century ago, partly because of an increased income and partly because few of our members collect the material which we most want. Newspapers, almanacs, broadsides, maps and the early productions of the American press, except in the case of the very rare items, are to-day found in the possession of public depositories rather than in the hands of private collectors. Hence we call upon our members chiefly for the historical works and treatises which profess to study the past, as

well as for the current publications of a periodical and serial nature which serve to continue files begun many years ago.

A constant source of accession, and one which it seems to me should be made ever more customary, is the gift from members of the Society of their own publications. William Lincoln, in one of his early library reports, reminded the members of the "constitutional privilege" which they possessed of furnishing to the Society a copy of whatever they wrote. The library depended quite largely for its initial growth upon gifts of this kind, and some of the most interesting of its volumes are the presentation copies from writers whose names are now household words.

The most notable of such gifts during the past year has been from Mr. Charles Evans of Chicago, who has presented to the library a set of the volumes so far published of his monumental *American Bibliography*, and has promised the remainder of the volumes as they are issued. In addition to being richly bound and especially lettered as his gift to the Society, the work is interleaved throughout, so that it may form a convenient catalogue of what is one of the most important of the Society's collections. A gift of much value, and one for which the Society is deeply grateful, is a complete set of the publications of the Hispanic Society of America, from Archer M. Huntington, of New York. These volumes, expensively yet tastefully bound, form a large body of valuable material and show in what a scholarly and serviceable way Mr. Huntington has made use of his opportunities. Mr. Albert C. Bates of Hartford has made frequent gifts to the library, and has aided us in the purchase of certain rare works which his studies along historical lines enabled him to appreciate. Among other members who have sent to the library copies of works which they have written or edited are Thomas Willing Balch of Philadelphia, Clarence M. Burton of Detroit, Franklin B. Dexter of New Haven, George F. Dow of Salem, Charles L. Nichols of Worcester, George

L. Kittredge of Cambridge, Albert Matthews of Boston, William Nelson of Paterson, and two of the South American members, Manuel Vincente Ballivian of Bolivia and José Toribio Medina of Chili. Among those who always seem to have the library in mind and are constantly supplying us with historical literature are Henry W. Cunningham and Samuel Abbott Green of Boston, Andrew McFarland Davis of Cambridge, and Benjamin T. Hill and Nathaniel Paine of Worcester. From Mr. Paine, than whom for many years there has been no more devoted contributor, the library has received a large collection of miscellaneous historical material, a clearing out, as he expressed it, of books not of immediate use to him, but which when examined revealed many desirable treasures.

Isaiah Thomas, in his first address to the Society, said that each member should imbibe the belief that the reputation and usefulness of the Society depended to a great degree upon his individual efforts, and should forward to the library whatever books, pamphlets, newspapers and manuscripts he could procure. He assured them that this library, not being of a circulating nature, would offer them a better guarantee that their donations would be preserved, and urged upon all authors the advisability of having at least one copy of any work in which they were concerned preserved in a national institution. This appeal, made nearly a century ago, is here repeated to-day.

During the year we have added to our collections of early American imprints 1,906 new titles, ranging from 1690 to 1820, and relating to every subject printable. In the early days of the Society, so large an accession along this particular line would have been most unusual. Collectors to-day often look back enviously to what they term the golden age of book-buying and say that if they had only made the quest a half century or more ago, they would have secured their choice of such book-rarities as were needed to fill out their respective collections. And yet that far-off period did not offer one-tenth of the

opportunity to acquire material as is presented to-day. There was not a more active and capable collector in the country in his time than Christopher Columbus Baldwin, who from 1831 to 1835 administered the library of this Society. Yet in spite of his extraordinary zeal in making up for his library a collection of early American printed material, he probably did not have the opportunity of inspecting a thousand titles of this class each year. Book-catalogues were then sent out by dealers and auction-houses at infrequent intervals. He had to ferret most of his material from the garrets of old New England houses, or "seduce" it, to quote his own phrase, from the possession of such bibliophiles as then collected. Isaiah Thomas, in all of his thirty years of collecting, did not acquire more than 3,000 of the early productions of the American press, and his was the best private collection of its kind in the country.

In contrast to this limited opportunity, the mail to-day teems with catalogues and book-lists, and the auction-houses continue to unload material until it seems as if nearly all of the world's great mass of printed product is turned over and exposed to view at least once each year. There is little doubt that the writer of this report, in the effort to obtain what is wanted by the Antiquarian Society, glances at over half a million titles a year, perhaps 10,000 of which are American imprints dating before 1820. A Connecticut book-dealer quotes us annually a thousand or more of these early titles, and one single consignment sent on by an English dealer for inspection amounted to 750 pieces.

Is it any wonder then, with all this mass of material to choose from, that we have acquired in the last four years 7,565 of these early American imprints, a total in itself equal to about one-tenth of the entire output of the period? Of late years the supply has been forthcoming in answer to the demand and to the extraordinary increase in book-prices, but the extra outlay is more than compensated for by the greater opportunity we have of filling out our collections.

Not all of the early American imprints noted as having been acquired during the past year could be said to come under the head of rarities. Those which were particularly desirable were ten works of the Mathers, a larger number than we have obtained in any one year since the Brinley sale. Most of these came from the Libbie sale of January 23, 1912, and were secured for the Society through the generosity of a member whose own knowledge in the field of early New England literature made him realize the value to us of filling in the gaps in our Mather collection. The Mather titles follow:

- COTTON MATHER, Life of Nathanael Mather, London, 1689.
Monitory Letter, Boston, 1702.
Advice from Taberah, Boston, 1711.
Desiderius, Boston, 1719.
Undoubted Certainties, Boston, 1720.
Some Seasonable Enquiries, Boston, 1723.
Cristodulus, Boston, 1725.
Greatest Concern, New Haven, 1765.
INCREASE MATHER, Plain Discourse, Boston, 1713.
Several Sermons, Boston, 1715.

Two early books of reference purchased are the *Vade Mecum for America*, Boston, 1731, and the *Abridgment of Military Discipline*, Boston, 1690, the latter of which is the first work of a military nature printed in the United States and is an exceedingly scarce book. Several titles of the Revolutionary period have been acquired, among them being Harrison Gray's *Ten Remarks upon some of the Votes and Resolutions of the Continental Congress*, 1775; *A Dialogue between a Southern Delegate and his Spouse*, 1774; and the *New York Laws* of 1774, compiled by Peter Van Schaack and his own copy, with his index. Other valuable accessions are a number of American Bibles and Books of Common Prayer obtained from the Rev. John Wright collection sold in New York in October, 1911; nine New England Primers secured from Mr. C. E. Goodspeed; a series of Vermont proclamations from 1794 to 1857 acquired from Henry Stevens of London; and a number of the broadside publications of the

Continental Congress obtained through exchange with another Library.

No large number of almanacs has been acquired, chiefly because the collection has now attained such a degree of completeness, that it is seldom that issues are offered which we lack. Exactly 223 almanacs were added during the year, and these largely dated from 1800 to 1850, the most important exceptions being two of the early German almanacs printed by Christopher Saur, at Germantown. Our collection, according to its present state of completeness, can only receive any notable accession from the early almanacs of the south and the middle west, and these issues are uncommonly met with. A great help in the correct listing of the collection has been given through the publication, in the last number of the Proceedings, of Dr. Charles L. Nichols' bibliography of Massachusetts almanacs from 1639 to 1850. Our collection now includes over four-fifths of the known Massachusetts almanacs, and Dr. Nichols' list, which represents a great amount of labor and research, will constitute a most useful guide enabling us to know what we lack.

Files of early newspapers, as usual, have been secured whenever opportunity has offered. The most important of these acquisitions is a perfect file of the *Independent Reflector*, printed by James Parker in New York from November 30, 1752 to November 22, 1753, with three numbers of the *Occasional Reverberator*, printed at the same office in 1753. Other files noted in the accession book are as follows:

EASTERN ARGUS, 1803-05.

KENNEBUNK VISITER, 1810-11, 1816-17.

U. S. ORACLE, Portsmouth, N. H., 1802.

SEMI-WEEKLY AMERICAN, Manchester, N. H., 1845-46.

HERALD OF FREEDOM, Concord, N. H., 1841-43.

CITIZEN SOLDIER, Windsor, Vt., 1840-41.

DEDHAM PATRIOT, 1837-39.

OLD COLONY DEMOCRAT, 1833-34.

OLD COLONY MEMORIAL, 1822-24.

NEWBURYPORT STATESMAN, 1808-09.

BOSTON GAZETTE, 1774, 1802.
BOSTON MERCANTILE JOURNAL, 1840.
YEOMAN'S GAZETTE, Concord, Mass., 1839-41.
NEW YORK MUSEUM, 1795-97, 1804-06.
PHILADELPHIA RECORDER, 1827-30.
GENERAL POSTBOTHE, Philadelphia, 1790.
RICHMOND SENTINEL, 1864-65.
RICHMOND DAILY DISPATCH, 1864-65.
RICHMOND WHIG, 1864-65.
DAY STAR, Cincinnati, 1846-47.

A few important volumes have been added to the Spanish-American collection. The fund for this collection was started in 1868 by the gift of \$500 from Isaac Davis, and has been increased at various times by him and by his son, the late Edward L. Davis, until at the present time, under the name of the Isaac and Edward L. Davis Fund, it amounts to \$20,000. As it stands to-day, the collection has a fair proportion of the rarer early works on Mexico and South America, and an even larger amount of the literature of the past hundred years. Perhaps the most important feature is the collection of *Artes*, or dictionaries of the early native tongues, of which there are over sixty titles covering the dialects of Mexico and South America. The most interesting of the *Artes* obtained during the past year was one that is accorded to be unusually rare, so rare that its existence was doubted by European bibliographers until as late as 1856. This is the *Arte de la Lengua Metropolitana*, by Flores, printed in Guatemala in 1753. At the sale of the Eames copy in 1910, it was stated that only two perfect specimens of this work were known. Among other works obtained which relate to Spanish-America may be noted Antonio de Leon's *Tratado de Confirmaciones Reales de Encomiendas*, 1630, Diez de la Calle's *Memorial y Noticias sacras del Imperio de las Indias Occidentales*, 1646, and a collection of Guatemala imprints running from 1747 to 1800.

The most important purchase made from the Davis Fund is a series of early newspapers, of which the most valuable file is that of the *Gazeta de Guatemala*, 1797-1805, 1808-12, 1824-27, 1830, 1841-50, 1854-71. Al-

though some of the years are not included, so long a file is seldom found and should be considered a great acquisition for this library. The titles of other files of Spanish-American journals and periodicals follow:

- MERCURIO PERUANO, Lima, 1791.
- EL FAROL, Puebla, 1821-22.
- EL OBSERVADOR, Mexico, 1827.
- MUERTE POLITICA, Mexico, 1828-29.
- EL PROCURADOR DE LA LEY, Guatemala, 1830-31.
- BOLETIN OFICIAL, Guatemala, 1831-34, 1836-39.
- EL CENTRO AMERICANO, Guatemala, 1833-34.
- EL RECREO DE LAS FAMILIAS, Mexico, 1838.
- NOTICIOSO GUATEMALTECO, Guatemala, 1838.
- EL OBSERVADOR, Guatemala, 1838.
- EL TIEMPO, Guatemala, 1839-41.
- LA AURORA, Guatemala, 1845.
- EL CANGREJO, Mexico, 1848.
- EL CONSTITUCIONAL, San Salvador, 1863-67.
- LA SEMANA, Guatemala, 1865-67.
- EL FARO SALVADOREÑO, San Salvador, 1865-66.

The income from the various funds which provide for the purchase of Civil War literature, legal works, local history and genealogy has been expended to add to these respective collections, although in the case of genealogy and local history, it is painfully inadequate.

There have been two exhibits shown at the library during the year. The first was an exhibition of the engravings made by Paul Revere and included nearly all of the engravings described in Stauffer's list, and several recently discovered prints found among the archives of the Society or unearthed during the course of the investigation of the subject. An especially good collection of the book-plates signed by or accredited to Revere was on view, and there were seven varieties or copies of the famous Massacre print, including presumably the only known example of the Boston Massacre by Pelham, between whom and Revere there was much rivalry as to who was first in the field. One of the direct results of the exhibition was the gift to the Society by Mr. Charles H. Taylor, Jr., of the original pewter plate upon which was engraved the 1832 reprint of the Mas-

sacre. The Society is indebted to the Harvard University Library, the Boston Public Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the John Carter Brown Library, and the Worcester Art Museum, and to Messrs. Frederick J. Libbie, and Hollis French of Boston, Mr. Robert Fridenberg of New York, and Mr. Nathaniel Paine and Dr. Charles L. Nichols of Worcester for the loan of prints not in its own collection. A descriptive list of Revere's engravings will soon be published in the Proceedings of the Society.

The Revere exhibition was followed by an exhibit of notable productions of early American presses. These volumes were first selected and arranged for the benefit of a class of Harvard students taking a course in bibliography, and elicited so much interest from several members of the Society that they were subsequently placed in the exhibition cases. Comprising the earliest productions of the presses of the various colonies, the first books printed in Greek, in Hebrew, in Spanish and in French, and the best examples of the work of the colonial printers, and including such rare volumes as the Bay Psalm Book, the Eliot Indian Bible, the first year of the Boston News Letter, the New York City Laws of 1763, and a long series of the Benjamin Franklin imprints, these books, provided they were procurable, would require to-day the outlay of a small fortune. As a matter of record, a list of the volumes exhibited is here appended:—

"THE WHOLE BOOKE OF PSALMES." Cambridge. Stephen Daye, 1640.

(The first book printed in this country known to be extant.)

"PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE," Cambridge, Samuel Green, 1649.

(The first edition of the famous Cambridge platform, and the earliest known book from the press of Samuel Green.)

MASSACHUSETTS "BOOK OF GENERAL LAWS," Cambridge, 1660. (Edward Rawson's copy.)

ELIOT INDIAN BIBLE, Cambridge, Samuel Green & Marmaduke Johnson, 1663. (The first Bible in America, and one of the monuments of early American printing.)

"NEW ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL," by Nathaniel Morton, Cambridge, S. Green & M. Johnson, 1669. (The first historical work issued by the Cambridge press.)

- "THE LIFE OF RICHARD MATHER," by Increase Mather, Cambridge, 1670. (The portrait of Richard Mather, engraved for this work by John Foster, is the earliest known engraving of a portrait made in this country.)
- INCREASE MATHER'S "WO TO DRUNKARDS," Cambridge, Marmaduke Johnson, 1673. (Contains both Hebrew and Greek type letters.)
- INCREASE MATHER'S "WICKED MAN'S PORTION," Boston, John Foster, 1675. (The first book printed in Boston.)
- WILLIAM HUBBARD'S "NARRATIVE OF THE TROUBLE WITH THE INDIANS," Boston, John Foster, 1677.
- ANNE BRADSTREET'S "POEMS," Boston, John Foster, 1678. (The first book by a woman author printed in this country.)
- "HEAVEN'S ALARM TO THE WORLD," by Increase Mather, Boston, John Foster, 1681. (The last book printed by John Foster.)
- ALMANACK FOR 1683, compiled by Cotton Mather, Boston, 1683.
- "ECHANTILLON," par Ezekiel Carré, Imprimé à Boston par Samuel Green, 1690. (The first book printed in this country in the French language.)
- KEITH'S "REFUTATION OF THREE OPPOSERS OF TRUTH," Philadelphia, William Bradford, 1690. (One of the early productions of the Pennsylvania press.)
- "NEW ENGLAND'S SPIRIT OF PERSECUTION TRANSMITTED TO PENNSYLVANIA," Philadelphia, William Bradford, 1693. (An early Pennsylvania imprint; contains some words in Hebrew type.)
- "THE WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD," by Cotton Mather, Boston, Benj. Harris, 1693. (One of the earliest publications relating to Salem witchcraft.)
- GEORGE KEITH'S "TRUTH ADVANCED," New York, William Bradford, 1694. (The first book printed in New York, being preceded only by some pamphlets and broadsides. Gershom Bulkeley's copy.)
- INCREASE MATHER'S DISCOURSES, translated into Indian by Samuel Danforth, Boston, B. Green & J. Allen, 1698. (The first book in the Indian language printed in Boston.)
- "LA FE DEL CHRISTIANO," translated by Cotton Mather, Boston, 1699. (The first book printed in this country in the Spanish language.)
- "THE CHRISTIANITY OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS," by John Field. Imprint of Reynier Jansen, Philadelphia, 1700.
- EARLY NEW YORK IMPRINTS by William Bradford: "Gospel Order Revived," 1700; Daniel Leed's "Challenge to Caleb Pusey," 1701; George Keith's "Great Necessity of the Sacraments," 1704; and Keith's "Notes of the True Church," 1704.
- BOSTON NEWS LETTER, No. 1, April 24, 1704. (The first issue of the first newspaper continuously published in this country.)
- SAYBROOK CONFESSION, New London, Thomas Short, 1710. (The first book printed in Connecticut.)
- "THE PRACTICE OF PIETY," Boston, B. Green, 1718. (Early woodcut title-page.)

"THE ISLE OF MAN," by Richard Bernard, Boston, J. Franklin, 1719.
(Crude woodcut frontispiece, an early example of American engraving.)

CATALOGUE OF HARVARD LIBRARY, Boston, 1723. (The first public library catalogue printed in the colonies.)

THREE ZENGER IMPRINTS: "Het Voordeel van het Land," 1726; "Letter from Minister of England," 1733: "Vanity of Human Institutions," 1736. (John Peter Zenger established his press in New York in 1725.)

SAMUEL WILLARD'S "COMPLEAT BODY OF DIVINITY," Boston, Green and Kneeland, 1726. (The first folio book, other than Laws, printed in the colonies. An early rubricated title-page.)

MARYLAND LAWS OF 1727. Printed at Annapolis by William Parks. (One of the earliest productions of the Maryland press, which was established in 1726.)

SEWEL'S "HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS," Philadelphia, Samuel Keimer, 1728. (The work on this important volume was partially executed by Benj. Franklin.)

BARCLAY'S "APOLOGY," Newport, J. Franklin, 1729. (The first volume of consequence printed in Rhode Island.)

FIVE IMPRINTS OF BENJ. FRANKLIN, Philadelphia, 1735-1741: "Letter to a Friend in the Country," 1735; "Some Observations on the Proceedings against Mr. Hemphill," 1735; Tennent's "Sermon upon Justification," 1741; "Protestation to the Synod," 1741; and "The Querists," 1741.

"CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND," by Thomas Prince, Boston, 1736. (An early instance of title-page rubrication.)

LOVELL'S "FUNERAL ORATION ON PETER FANEUIL," Boston, 1743. (An interesting example of the use of type ornaments.)

THE FIRST SAUR BIBLE. Printed by Christopher Saur at Germantown, 1743. (The first Bible printed in this country in an European language.)

CICERO'S "CATO MAJOR," Philadelphia, B. Franklin, 1744. (Regarded as the finest production of Franklin's press.)

"DER BLUTIGE SCHAU-PLATZ," Ephrata, 1748. (The largest and one of the most remarkable books of the colonial period. The Ephrata brethren made the translation, manufactured the paper and did the printing and binding.)

"DER HOCH-DEUTSCH AMERICANISCHE CALENDER," for 1750, Germantown, Christopher Saur. (Rubricated title-page.)

IMPRINTS of the firm of B. Franklin & D. Hall, at Philadelphia: "Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital," 1754; Lewis Evans "Geographical Essays, 1755.

"PIETAS ET GRATULATIO," Boston, Green & Russell, 1761. (One of the finest specimens of colonial printing. Handsome font of Greek type.)

"LAWS, STATUTES, ORDINANCES AND CONSTITUTIONS OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK," printed by John Holt, 1763. (A beautiful specimen of

colonial printing. A preliminary page contains a list of the members of the City Government, and is printed in red. There are but two other copies known, one of which is incomplete.)

"DISSERTATION ON MAN'S FALL," Ephrata, 1765. (Device of the Ephrata press, the seal of the Ephrata community, on the title-page.)

"PARADISISCHES WUNDER-SPIEL," Ephrata, 1766. (The last and most extensive collection of Ephrata hymns.)

"THE ENGLISHMAN DECEIVED," by S. Sayre, Salem, 1768. (The first production of the Salem press. Salem was the third town in Massachusetts to establish a printing-press.)

"FREEDOM FROM CIVIL SLAVERY, DISCOURSE MARCH 5, 1774," by Jonathan Parsons, Newburyport, I. Thomas & H. W. Tinges, 1774. (The first book printed in Newburyport.)

"NARRATIVE OF THE KING'S TROOPS UNDER THE COMMAND OF GENERAL GAGE," Worcester, Isaiah Thomas, 1775. (The first book printed in Worcester.)

ETHAN ALLEN'S "VINDICATION OF THE OPPOSITION OF VERMONT TO NEW YORK," Dresden, Alden Spooner, 1779. (The first year of Vermont printing.)

THE AITKEN BIBLE, 1782. Printed by Robert Aitken at Philadelphia. (The third Bible printed in America, and the first in the English language. The rarest of American Bibles.)

RAMSAY'S "HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION OF SOUTH CAROLINA," Trenton, Isaac Collins, 1785. (The first work copyrighted by the U. S. Government. Type, paper, engraving and binding, all American.)

DISCOURSE, by Bereanus Theosebes, Falmouth, T. B. Wait, 1786. (The first pamphlet, if not the first work, printed in Maine.)

CHRONICON EPHRATENSE, Ephrata, 1786. (An important example of Ephrata printing.)

MARYLAND LAWS OF 1787. Printed by Frederick Green at Annapolis. (One of the largest folios of the eighteenth century.)

PERRY'S ENGLISH DICTIONARY, Worcester, I. Thomas, 1788. ("The first work of the kind printed in America," according to the Dedication.)

THE THOMAS BIBLE, 1791. Printed by Isaiah Thomas at Worcester. (The sixth Bible printed in America and the first folio edition in English. A remarkable piece of printing which caused Franklin to call Thomas "the Baskerville of America.")

GREEK NEW TESTAMENT, 1800. (Printed by Isaiah Thomas, Jun., at Worcester and edited by Caleb Alexander. The first Greek Testament in America.)

LARGER CATECHISM OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY, New York, J. Watts & Co., 1813. (Claimed on the title-page to be "the first book ever stereotyped in America.")

EARLY COLOR-PRINTING, Boston, 1814. (A view of Niagara Falls and a map of Boston, showing Benjamin Dearborn's process of printing in colors, claimed by him to be the first ever printed in such a manner.)

The process of assembling and rearranging the collections has occupied much of our time. The American periodicals, which in the old library were distributed in three locations, have been brought together and included in one alphabetic arrangement. They number approximately 7,000 volumes and 50,000 unbound issues, nearly all of which date before 1880. The American Bibles, Prayer Books, Catechisms and Psalm Books have also been arranged, but, for convenience of consultation, in chronological order. The maps, both our own large collection and the collection received from the New England Historic Genealogical Society, have been examined, distributed in a systematic geographical order and indexed, all under the immediate oversight of the President, who has given much time and study to the problem. The depository set of the Library of Congress cards has been arranged and will doubtless soon receive the use which its value and importance warrants. The recent shortening of our funds due to having no longer the income from the Salisbury Building Fund, will prevent our doing much this year in the nature of recataloguing this library.

The building, so far as its arrangement and equipment are concerned, has proved satisfactory from every point of view. The details have fortunately worked out as we had hoped to have them, and the accessibility of the main body of books and of the special collections, which was the main object of the plan, has proved itself with time. Certain architectural defects, such as faults in the acoustic properties and in the construction of the roof, will doubtless be remedied within a short while. Possessed of an adequate new building, an equipment that is modern and thoroughly fire-proof, and splendid collections in its appointed domain, the Society can look forward with faith and confidence to a new century of work and of achievement.

Respectfully submitted,

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM,

Librarian.

THE RECORDS OF THE COUNCIL FOR
NEW ENGLAND.

BY CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

The Council for New England was incorporated by the King, November 3, 1620, under the name of "The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and governing of New England, in America." For fifteen years it administered the control of New England, and nearly all the public documents relating to the region, such as orders, commissions, patents and grants of land, emanated directly from this body.

In spite of its leadership in New England affairs, the Council apparently thought more of the division at a profit of this great area of new-found land than they did of the orderly keeping and preserving of a record of their proceedings. Until comparatively recent years, their records were known only through two more or less accurate transcripts of a portion of the original, covering the years 1622-1623, and 1631-1638. The first of these copies is a document of 44 pages, extending from May, 1622, to June 21, 1623, in the Public Record Office in London. Upon the first page are the words, "A Journal of the Council of Trade," which erroneous title, however, is penned in a more modern handwriting. The second portion dates from Nov. 4, 1631 to Nov. 26, 1635, with two additional entries of March 22 and Nov. 1, 1638, and is a document of 39 pages, also in the Public Record Office. At the head of the document are the words, "Coype taken upon a Journall of this Commiss'n in Mr. Povey's hands, dec. 1674. J. W." The initials are those of Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State.

Both of these transcripts were known to the earlier historical writers upon New England, such as Rev. Mr. Felt, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Haven; and Dr. Palfrey, in his *History of New England*, quotes them at length. In April, 1867, they were printed in full in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society from a copy made under the direction of W. Noel Sainsbury of the Public Record Office.

But these minutes were printed merely from later transcripts and not from the originals. Nowhere in England had researchers found any of the original records of this company which partitioned and administered New England in the beginnings of its history. At length, in 1874, the attention of Charles Deane was called to the *Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* for that year, in which in the description of the papers owned by the Carew family of Crowcombe Court, Somersetshire, England, there was the entry of a manuscript called "Orders at several meetings of the Council for New England. Begins Saturday, last of May, 1622," etc. Mr. Deane immediately recognized the importance of the manuscript and application was made to Mr. Sainsbury to have it examined. Mr. Sainsbury procured the loan of the document from the Carew family and after carefully comparing it with the 1622-23 transcript, as printed by the Antiquarian Society, found that it contained not only many variations in wording, but also the complete entries of two important meetings in June, 1623, which related to the division of New England among the patentees, and had not been included in the transcript. These additions and variations were printed in the *Proceedings* of the Antiquarian Society in October, 1875, together with a paper on the Records of the Council for New England, by Charles Deane.

The original manuscript was returned to the Carew family and dropped out of sight for several years. Finally on May 6, 1903, the Carew library was sent to the auction-room at London, and in Sotheby's catalogue of the sale was described in an entry of two lines under

lot 117. It apparently escaped the attention of everyone but Henry Stevens, the antiquarian bookseller, whose father many years before had tried in vain to purchase it from the Carew family. Recognizing the great importance of the document, he sent in a very large bid, but because of the lack of opposition obtained it at a price far below its real value. He then submitted it to some American collectors and it finally passed into the hands of Frederick L. Gay of Brookline, through the agency of George E. Littlefield. Mr. Gay, after keeping the manuscript in his possession for seven years has generously presented it to the American Antiquarian Society.

The manuscript is a vellum bound book, consisting of nine signatures of sixteen folios each. The record begins on the eighth folio, which, however, is numbered page 1. The pagination thence goes on regularly to page 65, although in two instances, at page 10 and at page 14, the writer of the pagination apparently turned over two leaves instead of one, thus making four unnumbered pages and giving 69 pages of manuscript. The watermark in the paper is a small ewer, with five trefoils at the top, the middle one of the five being larger than the rest. In the middle of the volume, however, is another watermark—an ewer of the same size, but of different shape and design, and with a single trefoil and upturned crescent at the top.¹

On the vellum cover, in a contemporary hand, is written "The booke of Orders," and underneath are the words, almost illegible, "[Begun?] in the year of our Lord God, 1622." There is more writing on the cover, but it has been so nearly obliterated that it cannot be deciphered. At the top of the first inside page, which is otherwise blank, is written "The breife orders att severall meetings of the Councell of New-England in America." The first entry, which is on the eighth folio, is the date "Saturdaye the last of Maye 1622," and the last record entered is under the date of June 29, 1623. At present,

¹ The manuscript Virginia Court Book of 1622-1623, in the Library of Congress, has this latter watermark in some of its pages.

the volume is encased in a morocco slip binding, made by Pratt in 1903.

When the manuscript first became known, thirty-seven years ago, the query at once arose as to whether it was the original book of minutes, or possibly an early transcript of a portion of the records, the doubt being expressed largely because the record did not begin until May, 1622, whereas the Council for New England had been incorporated on November 3, 1620. Now that the volume has been subjected to careful examination, there are many points to show that it is the original book of records and not a transcript. In the first place, although the records are entered all apparently by the same hand, there are noticeable changes in the appearance and style of the writing, indicating that the record was not copied at any one time, but that each meeting was entered by itself. The entries of July 5, 1622, November 15, 1622, February 18, 1623, and February 25, 1623 each begin in a handwriting that shows quite a difference in the shade of the ink from the records that immediately precede. This is especially noticeable at pages 36-37, where the handwriting on the left-hand page is cursive and hastily written, whereas that on the right hand page is more formal and carefully written, and with a different ink as well. Occasionally, as in next to the last paragraph on page 33, there is a variation in the color of the ink where an additional sentence was appended, for explanatory purposes, to the record of the vote. There are frequent alterations in the record, either corrections in spelling, or words inserted to improve the construction, or words started and then crossed out to be followed by words better suited to the sense or correctness of the entry. In one place, on page 6, under date of July 24, 1622, the clerk started to enter one of the votes and after he had progressed three lines, found that it referred to a vote which had not been entered, so he crossed out the three lines and entered the vote later in its proper place. There are similar examples of whole sentences crossed out on pages 21 and 33 of the record.

A carefully study of the record leads to the belief that it was made up by the clerk at the close of each meeting from rough notes or abstracts of the votes as passed.

The most convincing proof that this is the original Book of Records is one that has been but recently discovered. In the later Council minutes, preserved in the transcript in the Public Record Office, is recorded, under the date of June 28, 1632, the discussion of the granting of licenses for ships to go to New England, as a result of a complaint by Mr. Humfreys and Mr. Mathew Cradock. Then appears this significant entry: "And an Order made in this case by ye Councell, bearing date the 18th day of February 1622, entred in fol 40 of ye Councell Book of Orders, was now read unto them." On page 40, under date of February 18, 1622, is the identical order referred to, showing that the Record Book derived from the Carew family and the "Councell Book of Orders," are one and the same volume.

The fact that the entries in the Record Book begin with May, 1622, instead of November, 1620, can only be accounted for by the assumption that the records of this period, if kept at all, were entered on loose sheets and not preserved, which belief is especially tenable since the first few pages of the book are left blank, with the apparent purpose of having them later filled in.

There are plenty of references to show that the Council transacted business before May, 1622. They granted at least two patents before this date, and in fact in the record of this May meeting it is voted that "the patents allready granted" be confirmed. In the list of members present are the names of Capt. Samuel Argall and Dr. Barnabe Goche, yet they were not among the original patentees and there is no intervening record of their appointment. In the same way, the records show that Ferdinando Gorges was earlier the treasurer of the Council and that Edward Collingwood was the secretary, yet there is no mention of their election.

William Boles was elected clerk of the Council in July, 1622, and it would appear that he gathered what

records he could of the two preceding meetings, at each of which the subject of electing a clerk had been discussed, and then entered them in a volume obtained for the purpose. Incidentally, the date of the first meeting, recorded as "Saturdaye the last of Maye, 1622," could not have been correctly entered if the clerk meant May 31, for that date fell on Friday. It either meant the last Saturday in May, the 25th, which seems unlikely as, in two other cases in the record, the last day of the month was correctly entered—November 30, 1622 and January 31, 1623—or it meant that the clerk in entering at a later time the record of May 31, 1622, did not remember correctly the day of the week. Either conjecture is permissible, but the date of May 31 seems more in keeping with the rest of the record.

The record in this volume closes with the meeting of June 29, 1623, when the lands of New England were divided among twenty patentees. It seems probable that this was the last meeting held by the Council for a number of years. It marks the end of the first chapter of the Council's history and appropriately closes the first volume of its records. Soon afterwards two of the strongest supporters of the Company died. Sir Ferdinando Gorges became actively engaged in the war with Spain, and there was a respite in the granting of new patents. Gorges later related their troubles in the Act for the Resignation of their Charter by remarking that "these crosses did draw upon us such disheartened weakness as there only remained a carcass in a manner breathless." The meeting of June 29, 1623, is the last entered in the volume and the long run of blank pages following bears mute testimony to the fact that the Council for New England was not very actively engaged in the business of colonial administration.

There is no place here to relate the subsequent history of the Council. Charles Deane has told the story at length in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for October, 1875, and the documentary history of the patents and grants is given in volume 7 of the

second series of *Documentary History* of the *Collections* of the Maine Historical Society. In 1628 interest in New England colonization was renewed, and within the next four years at least 18 patents were granted by the authority of the Council for New England. Yet no records of meetings during this period are known to have been preserved. It is possible that the meetings were held informally and the patents granted without an orderly recording of the fact, but it seems more likely that the records were entered on loose sheets or in a volume which has disappeared, perhaps to be discovered, as was the Carew volume, in the recesses of some old family library.

The next recorded minutes of the Council begin with November 4, 1631, and, as has been previously stated, run to 1635, with two additional entries in 1638. The records are rather fragmentary, although whether this is due to the want of full entries in the original minutes or to the imperfect copying of the transcriber, cannot be positively asserted.

There must have been other records kept by the Council, in fact, there are occasional allusions to them in the minutes of the proceedings preserved. Apparently the first clerk of the Council was Edward Collingwood, whose name is appended in his official capacity to the Plymouth patent of June 1, 1621. Whether he kept minutes of the proceedings during his term of office is doubtful, but he certainly kept copies of the patents granted. At the meeting of February 25, 1623, it was ordered "that the Clerke call upon Mr. Collingwood for the copie of Sr. John Bruce's pattent. Mr. Collingwood answered me that he hath delivered all the books to Sr. Ferd. Gorges and to Mr. Thompson." Collingwood was at the same time employed as clerk of the Virginia Company, and the Council, in May 1622, appointed a committee "to take the continuance or discontinuance of the Clercke into their considerations and therin to doe as they shall thinck fitt," the marginal note reading "Committees for election of a newe Clerck."

On July 12, 1622, William Boles was elected clerk and at the same meeting it was voted "to consider of a place for our meetings, and stayeing for the Clerck, and for a Chest for our books." Indications of what these records were is shown by the vote of January 28, 1623, when a day was appointed "for perusall of the Booke of Acco'ts," and by that of June 21, 1623, when reference was made to "the plott remayning with Dr. Goche."

Following the hiatus in the Council's proceedings, the minutes of 1631-1638 show a few allusions to record-books. On June 21, 1632, Thomas Eyre was chosen secretary and "the Books of Accompt belonging unto the Treasurer for the New England Company, and a plot of the Country, was now delivered to him." At the meeting of June 28, 1638, was entered the vote, previously mentioned, referring to the earlier "Councell Book of Orders," evidently the volume now possessed by the Antiquarian Society.

On January 29, 1635, it was ordered that "ye Duke of Lenox, ye Marques of Hamilton and ye E. of Carlile, being admitted of ye Councell before this booke was rec'd from Mr. Dickenson, Clarke of the Councell of State, by order of ye Lord Comr's for the plantacions, should be registered here as pattentees and Councell'rs of the New England Company." This record, the first entry since November 26, 1632, shows that the record-book had been out of the possession of the Council for a considerable period, a possible further reference to which is given in a letter from Sir Ferdinando Gorges to the Lords Commissioners of Plantations, December 9, 1634, asking for a confirmation of the Council's charter with alterations and additions of privileges, and that the "patent books" and seals of the Council should be placed in the custody of whoever should be appointed Governor of New England, an honor which he expected would be bestowed upon himself. (*Calendar of State Papers Colonial, 1574-1660*, p. 193.)

The records of the Council for New England during the next forty years were frequently called for in liti-

gation, and as often were not forthcoming. Several times plaintiffs desired to procure accurate transcripts of the patents, but in vain. The most important document concerning the Council's records is of May 24, 1678, when the Lords of the Committee of Trade addressed a letter to the second Lord Clarendon, of which the following is an abstract: "Being engaged in preparing a report concerning New England, and finding by report of Lord Gorges that one William Lutterell, a servant of his grandfather, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, President of the Council of Plymouth, had given the Earl of Clarendon, soon after the King's restoration, a book of the Council's proceedings which was never returned, and Mr. Robert Mason informing them that in 1662, at the Earl's command, he delivered to him a large book in folio bound in parchment, being a Journal of the Council's proceedings from 1620 to 1639, containing the grants made by the Council and the Act of Surrender, and gave also several other papers belonging to his grandfather, Mr. John Mason, but that he never received back any of them, and on application had answer as if they did not now appear, yet may easily be buried among the many books and papers the Earl his father, left, and seem too many to be lost, if a strict search were to be made, the Committee desire his Lordship as a matter of much consequence to cause a diligent search to be made for those things, and to give an account thereof with all convenient speed."

A few weeks later, September 18, 1678, the Secretary of the Committee wrote to Lord Clarendon another letter, of which the following is an abstract: "Has already presented his Lordship with a letter from the Committee touching a Book of Entries and some papers of former times. Has lately been turning over the Council books and collecting all papers he could of what passed to and fro on the King's Restoration, and so on to the going over of the Commissioners in 1664 with their returns while there. But the account of things is so broken notwithstanding what he has got from the Sec-

retary's Offices that his entire hope is on what his Lordship will be able to furnish out of his father's papers on his arrival at Cornbury. Has much reason to hope from them all that he wants, as this affair passed under his Lordship's particular conduct. Is at a dead stand till his Lordship favour him, but 'tis for His Majesty and the public service." (*Calendar State Papers Colonial, 1677-1680*, pp. 254, 293.)

Here are mentioned two volumes of the Council's records, both of which have disappeared. The first may be the Carew manuscript. The second volume, described according to the memory of Robert Mason as containing the records from 1620 to 1639, would be a most desirable document. Dr. Palfrey, who saw this same letter and quoted it in his *History of New England* (vol. 1, p. 193) spoke of the volume as the Records of the Council from 1620 to 1635, wherein among other things were contained "all the grants made by the said Council." It is possible that the volume was the "patent book" of the Council. Could it be found, it would be one of the most important of New England manuscripts.

Another reference to the Council's records is to be found in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1669-1674*, page 630, in which are mentioned "Memorials from two books, one covered with vellum, the other with blue paper, lent by Lord Gorges, 16 December, 1674, being from 1631-1633. In the book covered with blue paper it is observable that in the 4th line of the first folio it is said 5 English miles and so by an imaginary line up into the Maine North to the bounds of a Plantation," etc. The vellum book cannot be identified, but that "covered with blue paper" is evidently the original from which the transcript of 1631-1638 was made. The quotation of "5 English miles" would come exactly in the fourth line of the first page of the original, if we may judge of this point by examining the transcript. There are several other quotations noted in the above mentioned document, showing that the blue covered book must have been a volume of slightly over 25 pages and

began, as the transcript indicates with the record of November 4, 1631. The inclusive dates of 1631-1633 mentioned in describing the volume are evidently erroneous—perhaps a mistake of the copyist for 1631 to 1638—since there are quotations given for dates as late as 1635.

From the preceding somewhat vague references, the records of the Council for New England may be said to have consisted of the original minute book of 1622-1623, a book covered with blue paper containing the records from 1622-1638, a large folio book bound in parchment containing all the grants from 1620 to 1635, and at least one Book of Accounts. The only original volume which is known to have been preserved to the present day is the first, the Book of Records of 1622-1623, fortunately found among the literary possessions of the Carew family. How this volume came into their possession is not known. No ancestor of the Carews of Crowcombe Court is recorded among the members of the New England Company, and it is probable, as is surmised in the account of the Carew library in the Historical Manuscripts Commission Report that it was acquired by one of the earlier Carews about the middle of the eighteenth century. Whatever the scene of its wanderings, this rare and treasured volume—the first documentary record relating to all New England—has at last been brought to America and through the generosity of Mr. Gay, has found its final resting place in the archives of a national historical society located in the very center of the region of which the record treats.

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Connecticut, State of.
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Directors Old South Work.
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Essex Institute.
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Groton Public Library.
Hartford Theological Seminary.
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Historical Association of London.
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Illinois Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.
Illinois State Historical Society.
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Massachusetts, Commonwealth of.
Massachusetts General Hospital.
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Massachusetts, Secretary of State.
Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants.
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Massachusetts State Library.
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Merwin Clayton Co.
Messenger Printing and Publishing Company.
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National Lumber Manufacturers' Association.
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National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution.
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Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.
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Toronto, University of.
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United States Bureau of American Ethnology.
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United States Department of Commerce and Labor.
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Vermont Historical Society.
Vermont State Library.
Virginia Historical Society.
Virginia State Library.
Warren Academy of Sciences.
Washington University State Historical Society.
Wesleyan University.
West Virginia University.
Williams College.
Wilson, H. W. & Co.
Wisconsin Academy of Arts and Sciences.
Wisconsin Historical Society.
Wisconsin, University of.
Woman's Relief Corps, Boston.
Worcester Academy.
Worcester Art Museum.
Worcester Board of Health.
Worcester Board of Park Commissioners.
Worcester Board of Trade.
Worcester, City of.
Worcester City Hospital.
Worcester Gazette.

Worcester Polytechnic Institute.

Worcester Public Library.

Worcester Society of Antiquity.

Worcester Telegram.

Worcester County Horticultural Society.

Worcester County Law Library.

Worcester County Musical Association.

Workingmen's Compensation Service Bureau.

Yale Peruvian Expedition.

Yale University.

HISTORICAL ADDRESS.

BY CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN.

We are gathered here to-day, surrounded by the memorials and records of the past, to celebrate the centennial anniversary of this Society. The last survivor of the charter members died more than forty years ago, and yet through that wonderful art of photographing the thoughts and deeds of men upon the printed page, he and they, together with the others who have gone before, are a real and substantial part of this living company met

*“To celebrate a Century’s flight
And gather ere it disappears
The harvest of a hundred years.”*

While the Society was founded one hundred years ago, the activities of its distinguished patron and his associates extended over a period which began before the Revolution. Those who signed the petition for incorporation, in the order in which the names appear, were: Isaiah Thomas; Nathaniel Paine; Dr. William Paine, his elder brother; Levi Lincoln, Sr.; Aaron Bancroft; and Edward Bangs. Every detail of the fruitful life of Isaiah Thomas has been noticed in the proceedings from the time when, at the tender age of six years, he was bound as apprentice in 1755 to Zechariah Fowle, a printer, of Boston, until his death in Worcester in 1831 at the age of eighty-two.

Mr. Thomas was not only a printer and publisher, but a book-binder and paper-maker, and his business extended all over the country. He was, too, a man of

great public spirit, and his gifts to this community were numerous and substantial. Brissot de Warville, one of the leading spirits of the Girondists and a celebrated writer of his day, who visited this country in 1788, "not," he says, "to study antiques, or to search for unknown plants, but to study men who had just acquired their liberty," writes of Worcester: "This town is elegant and well-peopled; the printer, Isaiah Thomas, has rendered it famous through all the continent. He prints most of the works which appear; and it must be granted, that his editions are correct. Thomas is the Didot of the United States."

Nathaniel Paine, lawyer, graduated from Harvard College in 1775. He was, for a time, prosecuting attorney for the county, and represented Worcester in the legislature for three years. He was Judge of Probate for thirty-five years.

Dr. William Paine, his elder brother, graduated from Harvard College in 1768. One of his early instructors was John Adams, in 1755 teacher of the grammar school in Worcester, who writes in his diary: "The situation of the town is quite pleasant and the inhabitants, as far as I have had opportunity to know their character, are a sociable, generous and hospitable people; but the school is indeed a school of affliction, a large number of little runtlings, just capable of lisping A B C and troubling the master. But Dr. Savil tells me for my comfort 'by cultivating and pruning these tender plants in the garden of Worcester, I shall make some of them plants of renown and cedars of Lebanon.'" Upon his arrival from England, after the war broke out, Dr. Paine found himself denounced as a royalist and did not return to Worcester until 1792, where he lived until his death, highly respected as a citizen and a physician.

Levi Lincoln, lawyer, graduated from Harvard College in 1772; marched as a volunteer with the minutemen to Cambridge; was an active member of the committees of the Revolution, Clerk of Courts, Judge of Probate, delegate to the convention at Cambridge for

framing a state constitution, member of the legislature, representative in Congress, Attorney-General of the United States and provisional Secretary of State in the Cabinet of Thomas Jefferson, lieutenant-governor and acting governor of this Commonwealth, and associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. Such is a brief summary of his great career which terminated in 1820.

Aaron Bancroft, clergyman, historian, graduated from Harvard College in 1778, minister of the Second Parish in Worcester for more than fifty years, father of George Bancroft. In 1832 Dr. Bancroft sent to John Adams a volume of his sermons, in acknowledgment of which Mr. Adams wrote: "I thank you . . . for the gift of a precious volume. It is a chain of diamonds set with links of gold. I have never read nor heard read a volume of sermons better calculated and adapted to the age and country in which it was written. How different from the sermons I heard and read in the town of Worcester from the year 1755 to 1758."

Edward Bangs left Harvard College to participate in the Concord fight, graduated in 1777, read law in the office of Chief Justice Parsons, served as a volunteer in the suppression of Shays's rebellion, was representative in the General Court, associate justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and an accomplished scholar in literature.

The petition to the Legislature for incorporation states of the Society that: "Its immediate and peculiar design is to discover the antiquities of our continent, and by providing a fixed and permanent place of deposit, to preserve such relics of American Antiquity as are portable, as well as to collect and preserve those of other parts of the globe. By the long and successful labors of the College of Antiquaries in Ireland (probably the most ancient institution now existing in the world), their historians have been enabled to trace the history of that country to an earlier period than that of any other nation in Europe."

Mention is made in the ancient annals of an early society in Ireland, but the Society of Antiquaries of London, incorporated in 1753 and succeeding a similar society formed in 1572, is the premier society for the study of antiquities. In this country, the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia was founded in 1743; the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1780; the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1791.

The act of incorporation was signed by Governor Caleb Strong on October 24, 1812. The incorporators were: Isaiah Thomas, Levi Lincoln, Harrison G. Otis, Timothy Bigelow, Nathaniel Paine, Edward Bangs, Esqrs.; John T. Kirkland, D.D.; Aaron Bancroft, D.D.; Jonathan H. Lyman, Elijah H. Mills, Elisha Hammond, Timothy Williams, William D. Peck, John Lowell, Edmund Dwight, Eleazer James, Josiah Quincy, William S. Shaw, Francis Blake, Levi Lincoln, Jr.; Samuel M. Burnside and Benjamin Russell, Esqrs.; Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, Redford Webster, Thomas Wallcut, Ebenezer T. Andrews, Isaiah Thomas, Jr.; William Wells. The amount of the annual income from real estate was limited to \$1500, and the personal estate was limited to the value of \$7000.

The first meeting of the Society was called for Thursday, November 19, 1812, at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston, where less than three months before Captain Isaac Hull had been banqueted because of the victory of the Constitution over the *Guerrière*. A committee was appointed to draw up regulations and by-laws, to report at the next meeting, at which the president, Isaiah Thomas, presented the Society with a large and valuable collection of books valued at \$4000. He was requested to retain possession of them until a place of deposit could be provided for their reception, and they were kept at his house on Court Hill for a period of eight years.

The by-laws provided for three meetings annually: one in Boston on December 22 and again on the first Wednesday in June, and one in Worcester on the Wed-

nesday next after the fourth Tuesday of September, and that an oration should be delivered at the December meeting; but later this was so far altered as to provide for holding the annual meeting on October 23, the day on which America was believed to have been discovered by Columbus.

Thus, as Mr. Haven, for so many years the accomplished librarian, once stated: "At the organization of this Society, the day upon which Columbus first set foot on the shores of the Western World was selected for the commemoration of its anniversaries, as the beginning of the civilized history of this continent, and the unsealing of its archaeological mysteries to the eyes of enlightened nations. The day was also chosen in honor of the great discoverer, to whose religious imagination the vessel that bore him was an ark of salvation, and himself (Columbus, the dove) a messenger of the Christian faith; not only Columbus, but Christopher—Christoferens, as he was wont to sign his name to public documents, with a fond conviction of its mystical meaning,—Christ-bearing, or the Christ-bearer,—divinely appointed and inspired for the fulfilment of prophecy." A desire to have the annual meeting held upon the actual date led to the ascertainment of the fact that Columbus made his discovery on the morning of the 29th day after the autumnal equinox, which now falls upon October 21.

The first meeting in Worcester was held "at the dwelling of Col. Reuben Sikes, innholder, Sept. 29, 1813." This was Sikes's Coffee House, still standing on Main Street, and now known as Exchange Hotel. Both Washington and Lafayette have been entertained there, and it was for many years the home of visiting members of the bench and bar. On October 23, 1813, the Society celebrated at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston, the landing of Columbus, and after the business meeting marched to the Stone Chapel—King's Chapel—and listened to "an ingenious and learned address" by the Reverend Professor William Jenks of Bowdoin College.

The Boston meetings were held at the Exchange Coffee House until 1818, when it was destroyed by fire, in 1819 at Forster's Tavern, and in 1820 at the Marlborough Hotel. In 1821 the Society returned to the Exchange Coffee House, which had been rebuilt, and continued the meetings there for fifteen years. From May, 1836, to May, 1847, the Boston meetings were held at the Tremont House. Two Doric columns of granite from the portico of the Tremont House now stand in Institute Park near this building. From 1847 until April, 1900, when the Society met in Ellis Hall, the Boston meetings were held in the rooms of the American Academy.

Mr. Thomas provided, at his own expense, a building on Summer Street for the use of the Society, which was formally opened on Thursday, August 24, 1820. The members met at 10 o'clock in the morning, and marched at 11 o'clock to the North Meeting House on the adjoining lot, where the services were opened with prayer by Dr. Bancroft. The address was delivered by Isaac Goodwin, Esq., then a resident of Sterling. He dwelt upon the importance of preserving the annals of the human race, and congratulated the citizens of the country upon the event of the day. After the services, a sumptuous repast, as it is recorded, was provided at Sikes's Coffee House. The building was enlarged by the erection of two wings in 1831; and while the Society enjoyed it as fully as if it had been its own, no deed ever passed from the donor. He died April 4, 1831. His will contained a bequest to the Society of \$30,000, and the following clause: "I give to said Society, (provided I shall not before my death execute a deed thereof,) and their successors forever, that tract of land in Worcester whereon is now erected a building for the use of said Society, which land is purchased of Samuel Chandler's heirs, containing about one acre near the Second Parish, with the said building thereon; which building is to be forever sacredly appropriated as long as said Society shall exist; for the library, cabinet, &c., of said Society; and the house and building are accordingly

devised upon this express condition. And in case said Society shall at any time cease to use said building for said purpose, then the whole of this estate is to revert to my grandchildren generally and their heirs." Mr. Thomas, in his will, further declared that he valued this real estate at \$8000. He left to the Society \$10,000 in books from his private collection and \$12,000 in money, to make up the whole legacy of \$30,000.

It was found necessary, in 1850, to erect a new building, to provide necessary room and to escape the dampness of the original location. A lot of land, next north of the old Court House on Main Street, was generously given by Stephen Salisbury for this purpose. Later he added a subscription of \$5000 to the building fund. This building, with additions, was the home of the Society until the present building was occupied in 1911. In speaking of it once, Mr. Salisbury said: "It presented such a courageous contrast to the prevailing modern style of decorating buildings with a profusion of projections, that a storm of hasty criticism arose, which at first so disheartened some of the best friends of the Society, that they could only repeat Touchstone's apology for the choice of his wife: "An ill-favored thing, sir; but mine own." The old building and lot on Summer Street was sold to the trustees of the Worcester Academy. Before this could be done, however, the consent of the Thomas heirs had to be obtained, as the will had provided that, if the real estate should cease to be occupied for the purposes of the Society, it should revert to them. In commenting upon this, our late associate, Senator George Frisbie Hoar, once said: "I remember a very entertaining fact about that, which shows the habits and motives that affected ladies in the time when Dr. Hale and myself were young. I was a student in Judge Thomas's office at that time, or had just been, and had an office next door to his. He took great interest in the new hall, and in having this old estate which his grandfather had given, quitclaimed to the Society. It required the assent of all the heirs;

otherwise we should forfeit the property. They got the assent of all the heirs but one lady, a cousin of the Judge, living in a neighboring town. She would not give hers. No offer of money and no persuasion could get her signature. At last the Judge was asked to take the matter in hand. He went to see her. If anybody then living could 'laugh on a lass with his bonny blue eye,' it was Ben Thomas. He came back exultant and reported his success to the office. He said he had tried to persuade her, and spent the whole afternoon talking to her; she said no, that her grandfather Thomas meant to have the property left in that way; and she would not sign. He told her that all the other heirs had assented; well, she didn't care about that; he told her she could have almost any sum of money she would name. All was without avail. At last, just as he was going off, he said, 'My dear cousin, if you will sign that deed, you shall have the handsomest silk gown there is in Millbury'; and she signed it."

The Society began its existence in a period of wars, both abroad and at home. Europe, in 1812, was overshadowed by Napoleon. He had staked everything on the Continental System, and had united all Europe in the crusade against England. We had begun our war with England in June, three days after Wellington commenced the Salamanca campaign, and six days after Napoleon passed the Niemen on his way to Moscow—a campaign for which he had been preparing since 1807. The Rev. George Allen, for many years minister in Shrewsbury, brother of Charles Allen so distinguished in this community in this day, was at that time a student in Yale College; and the expedition of Napoleon to Russia, as, I am informed, he told the story, was a subject of absorbing interest. One day he found a fellow student lying at full length on a barn floor studying the map of Europe. He was in a state of great excitement over Napoleon's progress into the heart of Russia. "He will be ruined! He will be ruined!" he cried. "He will be drawn into the interior of Russia, and the cold will do

the rest; his army will be destroyed in the retreat." Napoleon's army, warned by the frost of its impending fate, began the retreat from Moscow five days before the date of incorporation of this Society.

When the news came of the overthrow of Napoleon, President Dwight read, at college prayers, the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah, from the twelfth to the twenty-third verse. The twelfth verse runs as follows: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! how art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations!" And the twenty-second verse: "For I will rise up against them, saith the Lord of hosts, and cut off from Babylon the name, and remnant, and son, and nephew, saith the Lord."

The War of 1812—Mr. Madison's war, as it was called—was not popular in Massachusetts, but although every northern state excepting Pennsylvania and Vermont voted for De Witt Clinton, Madison was elected for a second term.

In 1808, when the feeling in New England was so hostile to the embargo, but eight thousand spindles were employed in the spinning of cotton; in 1815 there were five hundred thousand. In 1814 Mr. Francis Lowell of Boston had set up at Waltham the first factory ever established in which every process, from cleaning and carding to weaving, was carried on under a single roof. It was never intended by the mother country that her New England colony should engage in manufacturing. The Earl of Chatham once said that the "colonists had no right to manufacture as much as a single horse-shoe nail."

That our people at that time had no idea that we would ever become a great manufacturing nation is evidenced by correspondence between Benjamin Franklin and John Adams in 1780, in which Franklin said: "America will not make manufactures enough for her own consumption this thousand years." And Adams replied: "The principle interest of America for many centuries to come will be landed and our chief occupation agriculture.

Manufactures and commerce will be but secondary objects and always subservient to the other."

Also both abroad and at home there was a feeling of skepticism in regard to the introduction of mechanical improvements. At the beginning of the century the Academy of Science in France, when consulted by Napoleon as to the steamboat, spoke of it as a "mad idea, a gross error, an absurdity." When Fulton's first steamboat made the trip from New York to Albany, on the 17th of August, 1807, it caused many preachers to curse the machine on the ground that seventeen was the total of the horns and the seven heads of the beast of the Apocalypse.

Returning to local conditions, the population of Worcester in 1810 was about twenty-five hundred, and it was not until 1820 that it became the largest of the towns in the county. For a long time the only stages from Worcester were six each week to Boston and six each week to New York.

Such, in a general way, were the conditions, foreign and domestic, at the time of the organization of this Society. Its nature and objects were very fully set forth by Mr. Thomas, reporting for a committee appointed for that purpose at the meeting held at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston on October 23, 1813, when he said that it appeared that one more Society for the promotion of literature, the useful and fine arts, and other valuable purposes might well be added to those already in existence, a society not confined to local purposes, nor intended for the particular advantage of any one state or section of the Union, one whose members might be found in every part of our western continent and its adjacent islands, and who are citizens of all parts of this quarter of the world. The intended objects of the Society were, in the words of Sir William Jones to the members of the Asiatic Society: "Man and Nature—whatever is, or has been performed by the one, or produced by the other," but were particularly the investigation of American antiquities—natural, artificial,

and literary. Individual members were appealed to, to collect books of every description, including pamphlets and magazines, particularly those printed in North and South America; newspapers, specimens and descriptions of fossils and handicrafts of the aborigines; manuscripts, ancient and modern, particularly those giving accounts of remarkable events, discoveries, or the description of any part of the continent, or the islands in the American seas, maps, charts, etc. A few of the subjects of especial interest to the American antiquary mentioned were the ancient Indian nations of our continent, the western mounds of earth, the early European settlements, and European accessions of population in America. Because of the danger from fire in large towns and cities and from the ravages of enemies to which seaports were so much exposed in time of war,—and one was then being waged,—it was agreed that an inland situation was to be preferred for the location of the library and museum, and so Worcester was selected, forty miles distant from the nearest arm of the sea on the great road from all the southern and western states to Boston, the capital of New England.

At this meeting a committee was appointed to adopt measures “for obtaining accurate surveys of all the ancient mounds, whether fortifications or otherwise, in the Western part of the United States, and for collecting on the spot, all the facts and information, which throw light on these interesting monuments of American Antiquity.” At the annual meeting in 1819, it was stated that several communications had been made to the Society worthy of publication—among them being minute and accurate surveys of many of the ancient mounds and fortifications of the western country, by Caleb Atwater, Esq., of Ohio, done at the request and by the pecuniary assistance of the president, Isaiah Thomas. This led to the publication in 1820 of a volume of *Archæology* containing an account of Mr. Atwater’s researches among the ancient mounds, works of defence, and other remains in the West, illustrated by

maps, plans, and drawings. The conclusions reached were that nothing discovered by the writer sustained the supposition that this region was once inhabited by a race of civilized men.

At the annual meeting in 1835, it was reported that a second volume of papers relating to the objects for which the institution was founded was in press, and that the largest contribution was from the pen of Hon. Albert Gallatin, who, for many years, had been engaged in investigating the aboriginal languages of the country. This volume contains "A Dissertation on Indian History and Languages," and Gookin's "History of the Praying Indians." Mr. Gallatin's contribution was devoted to a comprehensive comparison of dialects. The fuller title of the work is the "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes within the United States, east of the Rocky Mountains, and in the British and Russian Possessions in North America." The writing of this book and the founding of the American Ethnological Society in 1842 earned for him the name of "Father of American Ethnology."

Albert Gallatin has a large place in our history. He was one of the founders of the Anti-Federalist party, elected to the Senate from Pennsylvania in 1793, leader of the Anti-Federalists in the House in 1795, Secretary of the Treasury for twelve years, in Jefferson's Cabinet and in that of Madison, Minister to France. It was then, in 1823, that, at the request of Alexander Von Humboldt,—elected a member of the Society in 1816,—he drew up a Memoir of the Indian languages which Humboldt proposed to annex to the second edition of his work on Mexico. Before Gallatin, Jefferson had collected and arranged the vocabularies of about fifty Indian languages and dialects, and so deserved a place among the fore-runners of the modern American school of comparative philologists.

In 1850 the Society undertook the publication from the original manuscript of the early records of the Massachusetts Bay Company and Colony, with annotations by Mr. Haven, the librarian. This important work,

so well begun, was continued under the auspices of the Commonwealth and under the editorial supervision of a member of the Society.

About this time the attention of the Council had been drawn to a field of antiquarian research where it was supposed that interesting and curious discoveries might be made. The State of Wisconsin and the neighboring sections of the country had within their limits a peculiar class of mounds, differing essentially from those found elsewhere. These had been denominated animal mounds, because their outlines exhibited the forms of various animals. Birds, beasts, and fishes were imitated in the shapes of these elevations, sometimes on a scale of such magnitude that it was only in the process of surveying that the forms were developed. Specimens of these singular works had been drawn by United States engineers engaged in surveying those regions, and some of them had been shown in the publications of the Smithsonian Institution. But it was said that comparatively few of those known to exist had been explored and described, and that many more singular than those noticed remained to be delineated. It was supposed, also, that excavations, judiciously undertaken, would throw some light on the object of their erection, and would determine what relation they might bear, if any, to the earth-works of the valley of the Mississippi. The Council employed Mr. I. A. Lapham, of Milwaukee, experienced in topographical and other scientific surveys, for a tour of exploration among these mounds.

Since the organization of the Society, associations of a kindred nature had sprung up all over the country, devoted to archaeological research, and the field which was almost unoccupied at that time became full of workers. Private collections and amateur antiquaries had greatly increased in numbers. This was also true in Great Britain, where the British Archaeological Association was organized in 1843 to include such archaeologists as could not be provided for in the older society of antiquaries. In Ireland the Irish Archaeological Society

was founded in 1840; the revival of the study spread through the country, and many societies were organized. Among the causes which it was said led to this revival was the Romantic Movement in literature towards the end of the eighteenth century. Its great inspiring spirit was Walter Scott, whose "Border Minstrelsy" and other works cast a glamour over past times. We have all delighted in the pages of "The Antiquary," in the character of Mr. Jonathan Oldbuck and his antiquarian pursuits, whose vagaries Scott holds up to gentle ridicule as tending to bring serious antiquarian research into disrepute.

The wanton neglect of the memorials of earlier times has often been commented upon. It is related that several pictures of Correggio were used at Stockholm to stop the broken windows of the royal stables, and that a portrait of one of the most illustrious of the fathers of New England, now in one of our American colleges, was once employed for a similar purpose. Indeed, it is unhappily true that the destruction of ancient monuments is more largely due to the vandalism of man than to the ravages of time. I was interested, some years ago, when in the Nile valley, to observe that the obelisks were quarried from a coarse grained pink granite, so coarse, indeed, that it chipped readily. It was easy to see that such a stone might endure for ages in a climate like that of Egypt, but exposed to the rude assaults of this latitude would quickly disintegrate, unless artificially protected. The climate of Egypt is perfect for preserving her ancient monuments. I remember visiting the tomb of Ti, where the pigments seemed as fresh as when they were applied to the interior decoration of the tomb four thousand years ago. One could clearly see where the artist had made his sketch and had not followed with the color, for what reason will probably forever remain a mystery.

This tomb was underground, in the sand, and absolutely protected from the dampness; and of frost there was none. It is no doubt true that the Parthenon would be as perfect to-day as it was in the time of Phidias if

the hand of the spoiler could have been stayed, and the Elgin Marbles would no doubt endure as long under the sunny Grecian skies as they will among the treasures of the British Museum. The Colosseum in Rome could easily have resisted the elements of nature, but could not escape the cupidity of men. Upon the general subject of antiquarian research, it has been said in our proceedings that, whoever is sufficiently thoughtful to preserve these footprints of passing occurrences which are apt to be lightly regarded until they are lost, and which, at every tide in the affairs of men, are swept into oblivion, may be sure of the gratitude of posterity. Knowledge of industrial arts and the customs of domestic and social life, in periods no more remote than the Middle Ages, is not derived from dignified documents or elaborate literature, but is gathered from verbal and pictorial representations of the humblest pretensions, or picked out of pieces of tapestry, or the ornaments of illuminated manuscripts, otherwise of little value.

Not only has the discovery of ancient manuscripts made possible the making of history extending to very ancient times, but the quest often becomes of romantic interest. This cannot be better illustrated than in the discovery by Tischendorf of the Sinaitic manuscript in the Convent of St. Catherine at the foot of Mt. Sinai. As he tells the story, when he visited the library of the monastery in 1844, he saw in the middle of the great hall a large basket full of old parchments, and the librarian told him that two heaps of papers like them had already been committed to the flames. Finding among them a considerable number of sheets of a copy of the Old Testament in Greek more ancient than he had ever seen before, he possessed himself of forty-three which were destined for the fire, and made an unsuccessful attempt to secure the remainder. So determined was he to possess them that he returned to the convent nine years later, convinced from a fragment containing eleven short lines of Genesis that the manuscript originally included the entire Old Testament, but he was

unsuccessful in finding further traces of the manuscript of 1844. He returned again to the convent in 1859, when, almost by accident, he discovered in the cell of the steward, not only the fragments which fifteen years before he had taken out of the basket, but also other parts of the Old Testament, the New Testament complete, and, in addition, the Epistle of Barnabas and a part of the Pastor of Hermas. He knew that he held in his hand the most precious Biblical treasure in existence. For two centuries search had been made in vain for the first part of the original Greek of the Epistle of Barnabas. He was permitted to carry the Sinaitic Bible to St. Petersburg to be copied, and later Oxford and Cambridge conferred upon him their highest academic degree. "I would rather," said the old man,— "I would rather have discovered this Sinaitic manuscript than the Koh-i-Noor of the Queen of England." Contributions of this sort, of greater or less importance, are constantly being made through the labors of investigators. Within the present year, Professor Scheil, of Paris, the eminent Assyriologist, has discovered a cuneiform tablet which establishes the order and names of five dynasties earlier than 2300 B. c.

A subject to which much space is given in the proceedings is that of the origin of our population. Attention is drawn to the fact that the theories upon this subject had fallen somewhat into disrepute because of the absurdities of those who tried to prove too much and who warped and colored facts to suit their needs, and that the aboriginal remains at the west had often been misconceived and misrepresented in the endeavor to account for them upon the supposition that they were the work of an offshoot from some European or Asiatic nation more or less civilized. One hypothesis, elaborately argued and tenaciously clung to, was that the lost tribes of Israel had found refuge in America. The question was regarded as an open one until after the middle of the century, fertile in the elements of controversy, and one which was commended to the Society for serious

consideration. It was suggested that the facilities of access from Asia are certainly greater than those from Europe, and that the same winds that bore the Japanese junk to the neighborhood of the Columbia River could have carried thither the fleet of Kublai Khan, described by Marco Polo as having disappeared in a mysterious manner on a voyage of conquest against Japan and believed by many writers to have been driven to this continent. In the eighteenth century some French philosophers suggested the idea that the aborigines of this continent were possibly the primitive race of mankind. Our speculative statesman, Thomas Jefferson, was disposed to adopt this opinion, on the ground that so many distinct vocabularies existed among the natives, while among the Asiatic tribes having a similar grammatical regimen, no such extreme diversity was found.

Mr. Haven, for so many years the accomplished librarian of the Society, issued in the early fifties, under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, an elaborate paper upon the Archaeology of the United States, with opinions respecting vestiges of antiquity. It is no doubt due to his profound interest in this subject that the attention of the Society was so pointedly directed to it. He had been for many years of the opinion that the prehistoric forms of civilization on this continent were purely of native origin. At about this time, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Charles Deane edited the long lost manuscript journal of William Bradford, Governor of the Plymouth Colony, the original of which was later to be returned to Massachusetts through the efforts of another of our members.

At the annual meeting on October 21, 1862, reference was made to the close of the half-century of the life of the Society, but the commemoration of the event was deferred, as the report says, to "happier and more peaceful times." "We are too much absorbed in the thoughts and cares and anxieties of the present and near future for a patient retouching of the monuments of the past. The click of the hammer and of the chisel are

lost in the din of arms. Old Mortality himself would be startled from his labor of love by the cry of an afflicted country."

At the annual meeting in 1863, the address upon the half-century commemoration was prepared by Dr. William Jenks, D.D., who delivered the address just fifty years before, in 1813, and was one of the four survivors of the original members; the other three being Governor Levi Lincoln, Josiah Quincy, and Dr. John Green.

In 1866 the Society was associated with the establishment by George Peabody of a museum and professorship of archaeology and ethnology in connection with Harvard College by the appointment of Stephen Salisbury as one of the trustees, his successors to be the future presidents of the Society. This endowment was said to be "the first instance in this country of the establishment of an independent provision for the promotion of investigation in an important branch of the study of history."

The year 1868 is notable as that of the death of Hon. Levi Lincoln, the last survivor of the charter members. He graduated from Harvard College in 1802; was a member of the state senate; and in 1814 of the House of Representatives, in which he prepared and offered the protest of the minority against the act authorizing the Hartford Convention; was a member of the convention of 1820 to revise the state constitution, and one of the commissioners under the act for the separation of Maine, to make partition and apportionment of the public property; speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, lieutenant-governor, associate justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, governor of the Commonwealth, member of Congress, councillor of this Society.

Although the subject has been referred to in a general way, the first direct reference I have found in the proceedings to "Darwinism" by name was in 1868. This seems rather strange in view of the fact that the "Origin of Species" was published in 1859. Darwin had begun his journal as early as July, 1837. His faith was then

shaken in the fixity of species. He made an abstract of his facts in 1844, and showed it to his friend, Sir Joseph Hooker, the botanist, who, with Sir Charles Lyell, the geologist, knew of his labors. Alfred Russel Wallace, a celebrated naturalist at work in the East Indian archipelago, reached independently the same conclusion as to natural selection. Their joint production, together with a full statement of the facts, was presented to the Linnaean Society of London, July 1, 1858. Darwin said that if he could convince Lyell, Hooker, and Huxley, he could wait for the rest. This subject was under discussion at the annual meeting in 1868, when Dr. Ellis said that he had removed from his shelves five volumes of Sir Charles Lyell's geology because Lyell had abandoned his "principles" and asserted his new system with equal assurance.

The variety of subjects considered at the meetings may be interestingly illustrated by turning to that discussed at the annual meeting in 1871, when Charles Sumner, in commenting upon the report of the Council, suggesting the idea that the Pacific would be our Mediterranean Sea, said that the unity of European capital renders it doubtful if the United States ever regains its power on the Atlantic Ocean, and it must improve its opportunity in the other direction. The Pacific is essentially ours, and it is of vast importance that all our rights there be jealously guarded and defended. In this connection, he said that he anticipated a time when the Sandwich Islands would become a part of the jurisdiction of this country as our half-way house to China and Japan. In this view, the Pacific, he continued, is to be to us the great middle sea of the world. He spoke also of the high degree of intelligence of the Japanese, and the ease and industry with which they apply themselves to the acquisition of knowledge, and of the great importance of developing fully our international relations with that people.

Our members have always had a prominent part in the administration of the affairs of the state and nation,

and through them the Society has been closely identified with the political history of the country. Isaiah Thomas was twenty-one years old at the time of the Boston massacre, which has been designated as "the first act in the drama of the American Revolution," and his influential part in that great event need not be repeated here. In the War of 1812 the influence of some of our members was hostile to the policy of the government. Josiah Quincy was the leader of the Federalist party in Massachusetts, and vigorous in his denunciation of the war. Webster, too, opposed it, but more temperately. Perhaps as striking an instance as any of the influence of a member of the Society upon the political movements of his time is that of Charles Allen, who was chosen a delegate from the Worcester district to the Whig national convention of 1848. It was there that he said: "The Whig party is here and this day dissolved." At the meeting called in Worcester upon his return, his brother, the Rev. George Allen, presented a resolution which was not only adopted there, but at nearly every other Free Soil meeting held that year in Massachusetts, and became a battle-cry throughout the country: "*Resolved*, That Massachusetts wears no chains, and spurns all bribes. That she goes now and will ever go for Free Soil and Free Men, for Free Lips and a Free Press, for a Free Land and a Free World."

The Society owes much to the services of its librarians. Isaiah Thomas had charge of the library and cabinet until the October meeting in 1814, when Samuel Jennison was chosen, and served until 1826. Mr. Jennison, while not college bred, was a learned man and an able writer. He was a member of many literary and historical societies and a large collector of biographical material, much of which is in the possession of the Society. He was succeeded by William Lincoln, a son of the first Levi Lincoln. He graduated from Harvard College in 1822, and practised law in Worcester, was associated with Christopher C. Baldwin in publishing the "Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal," was editor of

the "National Ægis," and under appointment from Governor Edward Everett, edited the journals of the Provincial Congress, committees of safety, and county conventions for the years 1774 and 1775. His most important work was the history of Worcester from its first settlement in 1664 to 1836. Christopher C. Baldwin, succeeding Mr. Lincoln, became acting librarian at the October meeting in 1827, having been elected a member at the same time, together with Charles Allen, Emory Washburn, and Jared Sparks. In May, 1830, Mr. Baldwin moved his law office to Barre. He said that there were too many lawyers in Worcester, being above twenty, either to make the profession profitable or reputable; that he only made \$500 a year, and that the business was growing less. "Many," said he, "go out a-maying and more to see the girls." He moved from Barre to Sutton, but returning to Worcester, again became librarian, April 1, 1832, and held the office until his death in August, 1835. During his absence the office was filled by Samuel M. Burnside, Esq. The Society is indebted to Mr. Baldwin for many of its rare publications, and particularly for its large and valuable collection of American newspapers. He had a strong taste for the pursuits of the antiquary and genealogist. In writing to the Rev. Aaron Bancroft in 1832, then on a visit to Cincinnati, he asked him to interest himself in the mounds in the Ohio Valley, and to procure, if he could, a collection of the "skulls of the unknown, forgotten people who built the mounds and forts and inhabited the country before the present race of Indians."

In 1834 he sought to secure from Temple Cutler, son of Manasseh Cutler, the records and papers of the Ohio Company, and wrote: "Their preservation will identify the name and memory of your father with the original formation of one of the most powerful states of the Union." He had decided views as to the library, and on one occasion said: "There were very few objects of curiosity or antiquity in the collection. This is correct taste. A library should contain nothing but books,

coins, statuary and pictures. I admit now and then an antiquity should be admitted. But how absurd to pile up old bureaus and chests, and stuff them with old coats and hats and high-heeled shoes! The true history of all these things is handed down by painting. And besides, if they are once received, there will be attempts making to gull somebody with the 'Shield of Achilles' or "Mambrino's helmet." I have discouraged the sending them to the Antiquarian hall for this reason."

Mr. Baldwin did not confine his labors to the library, but took great interest in the grounds as well. With his own hands he set out hundreds of trees about the old building on Summer Street, most of which he dug in the woods and carried to their destination upon his back. "They will," said he, "afford a comfortable shade for my successor, if I should not live to enjoy it myself." In the work of beautifying the grounds he had some assistance. On one occasion he writes: "Yesterday, His Excellency Governor Lincoln came with several men to lay the grounds in front of the Antiquarian Hall. He worked very diligently two days and made some very acceptable alterations. The thermometer stood at 91°, and, judging from the profuse perspiration upon His Excellency's forehead, I have no question but that he had a very warm time of it."

Through Mr. Baldwin's diary we get an acquaintance with the domestic affairs of the Society. On one occasion he writes: "Isaiah Thomas, LL.D., calls at my office, above 80 and yet healthy and vigorous"; and on another: "Assist Isaiah Thomas, LL.D., president of the A.A.S., in making an account of books given to the Society within the year." The meetings of the Council were then held on the last Wednesday of each month. Mr. Baldwin mildly complains that while the meetings are very pleasant, "the Council spends too much time in talking about politics."

On the last day of 1834 he sent the following note to "Sam Jennison, Esq. If not at the Bank, at his new seat in Pearl street."

MY DEAR SIR:

One of my spokes is so out of kilter that I have requested the company of the council at my room at my boarding house, this evening at 7 o'clock, where I shall be very happy to see you. I have not ventured out of doors since Saturday, and I did not feel up to breaking snow paths to-day.

Your decrepid friend,

KIT, THE ANTIQUARY.

Last day of 1834.

In attending the May meeting in Boston, in 1835, he took the stage to Westborough and thence by railroad to Boston. He writes: "We were all invited to dine with Mr. Winthrop, president of the Society. The Society always dine with him, and he gives a prime entertainment."

Mr. Baldwin died August 20, 1835, as the result of an accident in the upsetting of a stage near Norwich, Ohio. On October 23 of that year William Lincoln, his close personal friend, delivered an address upon his character and services before the Society in the Unitarian meeting-house, which stood then, as the building which replaced it now stands, south of the Court House.

Mr. Baldwin was succeeded by Maturin L. Fisher, acting librarian for two years, who then moved to Iowa. Samuel F. Haven was elected in October, 1837, and entered upon his duties in April of the following year. He was elected to membership at the October meeting. He continued in this office until April, 1881, when he resigned, and during this period of forty-three years his reports form a most important part of the proceedings. The first report, made in October, 1838, contains the statement that, "on commencing this duties, the present librarian found himself in the midst of a library almost overflowing with the results of the diligence of his predecessor and of public and private liberalities."

Commenting upon the work of the Society, he said: "Our society may not itself engage in the composition

of History or Genealogy, in the technical sense of these pursuits, but it is called upon to furnish means and facilities for its accomplishment by others. This it may fairly be claimed it has been doing, if quietly and economically, yet in a diligent and liberal way, after the example set by its founder. In two departments of collection—those of Newspapers and Pamphlets—Dr. Thomas took the precedence in this country. Such fugitive productions were hardly thought worthy of preservation in public libraries before his time. They are troublesome to handle and expensive to prepare for permanent keeping. But for the binding fund provided by our present president they would be an unmanageable burden. As it is, they are among the choicest of our treasures.”

And on another occasion: “Its proper office is to keep the fire ever burning upon its altar, from which a torch may be kindled for every particular enterprise, and by which light may be shed over every field of investigation—to cherish the spirit of research by precept and example, and to bestow upon every honest effort the most candid and liberal consideration.”

On another occasion he said: “Antiquity is just now in fashion, and both associated and individual collectors of memorials of the past are multiplying everywhere. As archaeology has become one of the most popular of the sciences, the term archaeological or its equivalent if often added to the name and style of societies organized for very different purposes. The word Antiquary is losing its curiosity-shop associations, and is gaining the prestige of signifying a scientific student of the origin and primitive history of the human race. When will the word Antiquarian, used as a noun, be abolished? It has the sanction of Gibbon, the historian, but scholars should be more exact in their use of the terms. When the late Mr. Crabb Robinson and a lady were once riding in the same carriage, the lady chanced to say: ‘Oh, Mr. Robinson, you are an antiquarian.’ ‘Madam,’ he replied gravely, ‘I am a noun and not an adjective. An antiquary, if you please.’”

The large variety of subjects which Mr. Haven treated in his reports have been briefly summarized by one of our associates as follows: "American Archaeology and Exploration; Mexican Antiquities; Mound-Builders; Dighton Rock; the Ante-historic Period of the Old World; Lake Dwellings; the Stone Age and Flint Implements; the Improved Method of Cataloguing; Tribute to Humboldt; Account of the Founder of the Society, his services during the Revolution, as printer, as historian of printing and as collector; the Characters and Writings of the Mathers; the Brinley Library; Dr. Bentley's Papers; Broad-sides; the Literature of the Civil War; Examination of the Popham Colony; Our Early Magazine Literature; and Lost Historical Papers."

Mr. Haven was succeeded by Mr. Edmund M. Barton, now librarian emeritus, of whose devotion to the interests of the Society through his many years of faithful service we all have personal knowledge, and for whom we wish a serene and happy old age.

While the membership of the Society is national and international, it has been deeply influenced in its activities by the local members. In the report of the Council in 1849, Mr. Haven said: "It is clear that the efficiency of an Institution must greatly depend upon its local strength. If the central machinery is wanting in power, the motion of the distant wheels will be feeble and irregular."

Mention has already been made of the men who organized the Society, and the list is a distinguished one. Until his death in 1831, Isaiah Thomas was the dominating force, in large part paying its expenses. He was succeeded in the presidency by Thomas Lindell Winthrop, a graduate of Harvard, state senator, lieutenant-governor, member of many learned societies, of whose relations to this Society Dr. Jenks said he "was ever punctually and faithfully devoted to its interests even to the close of life." Following him was the gifted Everett, clergyman, member of Congress, governor, Minister to the Court of St. James, president of Harvard

College, Secretary of State, successor to John Davis in the Senate of the United States, statesman, orator, scholar. He, in turn, was succeeded by John Davis, graduate of Yale in the class of 1812, lawyer, member of Congress, governor, United States Senator.

Stephen Salisbury was president from 1854 until his death in 1884, and up to that time, by general consent, was accorded a place second only to that of Mr. Thomas in the value of his services and amount of his benefactions. Mr. Salisbury occupied a distinguished place in this community. He was not only a man of education, social prominence, and large affairs, but an excellent classical scholar. His frequent participation in the proceedings is marked by sound sense and sound learning.

The Rev. Edward Everett Hale, then a resident of Worcester, was elected to the Society in 1847, and from that time until his death, a period of upwards of sixty years, was a constant contributor to the proceedings, and for a short time served as president. His informal contributions had a peculiar charm. Characteristic of these was the following, made several years ago: "When the great fire took place and swept away the most of commercial Boston, our friends at the Old South meeting-house had a valuable piece of property, and they sold it for \$400,000, and that \$400,000 had to be raised some way, and we were all very enthusiastic in our wishes to preserve the old meeting-house. I met Henry Longfellow in the street one day, and I said: 'Longfellow, you have got to help in preserving the meeting-house.' 'All right, how much do you want?' I said: 'How much? I want you to write us a poem.' He was very good natured about it, and said: 'If the spirit moves, I will write the poem.' I was not quite satisfied with that. I said: 'The spirit must move, it has got to move, and I hope it will move.' And we parted. That week Longfellow wrote his ballad on the French fleet, and according to me, it is the best American ballad written. It is ascribed to Thomas Prince, the minister of the Old South."

Senator Hoar was elected to membership in 1853, and was a constant contributor to the proceedings, and president for a time. I think that perhaps as good an illustration as any of his fondness for the pursuits of the antiquary is to be found in the return of the Bradford manuscripts to this Commonwealth in 1897, by the Bishop of London. Said the bishop to Mr. Hoar: "I did not know you cared anything about it." "Why," said Mr. Hoar, in reply, "if there were in existence in England a history of King Alfred's reign for thirty years, written by his own hand, it would not be more precious in the eyes of Englishmen than this manuscript is to us."

Stephen Salisbury, Jr., was for years an active and highly useful member of the Society. He was deeply interested in the literature of Central America, and the results, direct and indirect, of his visits to Yucatan are to be found in the proceedings. He was president from 1887 until his death in 1905. The gifts to the Society of the father were exceeded only by those of the son.

It so happens that the oldest of our associates in membership and the oldest in years are both residents of Worcester:

Nathaniel Paine, born in 1834, bearing the honored name of a charter member, elected to membership in 1860, treasurer for forty-five years, member of the Council since 1863, a frequent contributor to the proceedings, recipient of an honorary degree from Harvard University in recognition of his accomplishments as an antiquary.

William Addison Smith, born in 1824, while John Adams and Thomas Jefferson still lived, graduated from Harvard College in 1843, associated with the Society since 1867, of which may be said, as was once said of the British Scientific Association, that membership seems to bring with it an assurance of long life.

In his address in King's Chapel in October, 1814, Dr. Abiel Holmes said: "Antiquity, far from being a rival, is but a handmaid of history. Her office is more humble, her province more restricted. The one furnishes a few of the valuable materials with which the other constructs her superb edifice."

At the moment, I can think of no better illustration of the functions of the antiquary and the historian than is to be found in William Hickling Prescott, an early member, whose attainments in the former field are excelled only by those in the latter. In writing the "Conquest of Mexico," he tells us of the rich store of new material which he found in the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, consisting of instructions of the court, military and private journals, correspondence of the great actors in the scenes, legal instruments, contemporary chronicles, and the like, drawn from all the principal places in the extensive colonial empire of Spain, as well as from the public archives in the peninsula; and in the preparation of "Philip the Second" he sought his materials in the public archives in the great European capitals and in private collections, in which work he was aided by Edward Everett. The easy access to these treasures is in happy contrast with the exclusiveness of the Fan family in China at that time, whose library contained upwards of fifty thousand volumes, of whom it was said that each member of the family had a key to his own lock, so that the library could be opened only by the consent of all and in the presence of all.

The immediate and peculiar design of this Society has been declared to be to discover the antiquities of our continent, but the broader purpose is a desire to contribute to the advancement of the arts and sciences, as well as to assist the researches of future historians. In these fields of research and discovery there has been an enormous development during the past one hundred years. In 1800 about one-fifth of the earth's land surface was known: at the present time less than one-tenth is unexplored; and with the discovery of the North and South Poles, the latter within the present year, practically the entire surface of the earth is now known to us. Until almost the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was the general belief that man and the whole universe began to exist several thousand years ago; that everything was created out of hand, and has remained un-

changed ever since. The words: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth," and the date 4004 B. C. as the starting-point, were accepted literally.

The fundamental idea of geology, as it has come to be understood, is the evolution of the earth through millions of years. We can no longer speak with scientific precision of the "everlasting hills"; we know that nothing is permanent; that everything is subject to continuous change, nothing is at rest. Indeed, it is said that in every stick and stone the particles which compose the atoms flash through over a hundred thousand miles a second. The modern science of geology enables us to fix the remote time of the birth of the mountains, to trace their development and decay through the ages, and to find their remains in the folded structure of the rocks. As Lamarck, the celebrated French naturalist, once said: "For Nature, time is nothing. It is never a difficulty, she always has it at her disposal; and it is for her the means by which she has accomplished the greatest as well as the least results. For all the evolution of the earth and of living beings, Nature needs but three elements—space, time, and matter."

After the great antiquity of the earth and its origin and development by natural processes had been generally accepted, man was believed to have appeared only a few thousand years ago, and it was comparatively recently—little more than fifty years ago, as has been said—that Darwin's "Origin of Species" prepared the way for the now generally accepted theory of man's origin by a natural process of evolution.

Astronomy, the oldest of sciences, comprehending all matter of the universe which lies outside of the earth's atmosphere, has made great advances during the century; a science cultivated eight thousand years ago in the valley of the Nile, the Tigris, and the Euphrates, it has, through the aid of recent discoveries in physics and chemistry and celestial photography, bridged the distances of space. The discovery and development of spectrum analysis during the nineteenth century has

enlarged enormously the opportunities for celestial inquiry, and put us upon terms of intimacy with our sister planets of the solar system.

Bacteriology has revolutionized our views of fermentation, and marks the pathway of our physicians and surgeons, and our sanitary engineers. In physics the nineteenth century has witnessed the greatest advance since the time of Galileo and Newton. The eclipses of Jupiter's moons and observations upon the positions of the stars as influenced by the motion of the earth in its orbit have furnished a measure for the velocity of light. Biology has demonstrated that plants and animals are built up of cells, or of minute elementary organisms and micro-organisms, which are recognized as the cause of widely distributed processes of putrefaction, of fermentation, and of the diseases of plants and animals. The less men knew, the more ready they were to accept the hypothesis of spontaneous generation. Pasteur proved by scientific methods that, for microbes, too, the saying is fulfilled: *Omne vivum e vivo*—life comes only from life.

It is well within the truth to say that in therapeutics, medical and surgical, physiology, pathology, and hygiene, greater progress has been made during the last century than during the previous two thousand years. The discovery of the effect of vaccination, of general anaesthetics, the adoption of antiseptic and aseptic methods in surgery, the development of modern bacteriology, and the demonstration that some diseases are due to the growth of micro-organisms are enough to justify the assertion.

What, then, I ask, is the function of this Society in this wonderful age? It is, as it always has been, to discover the truth in whatever field we may investigate, and to make it available for use by our fellow-men; to preserve correct records of facts upon which future chroniclers may base their conclusions.

"Science seems to me," said Huxley, "to teach, in the highest and strongest manner, the great truth which is embodied in the Christian conception of entire sur-

render to the will of God. Sit down before the fact as a little child; be prepared to give up every preconceived notion; follow humbly wherever and to whatsoever abysses nature leads, or you shall learn nothing. I have only begun to learn content and peace of mind," he said, "since I have resolved at all risks to do this." He tells us that he has subordinated ambition for scientific fame to the diffusion among men of that enthusiasm for truth, that fanaticism of veracity, which is a greater possession than much learning, a nobler gift than the power of increasing knowledge. Ours should be the spirit of the dervish in the Arabian tale, who "did not hesitate to abandon to his comrade the camels with their loads of jewels and gold while he retained the casket of that mysterious juice, which enabled him to behold at one glance all the hidden riches of the universe. Surely it is no exaggeration to say that no external advantage is to be compared with that purification of the intellectual eye, which gives us to contemplate the infinite wealth of the mental world; all the hoarded treasures of the primeval dynasties, all the shapeless ore of its yet unexplored mines."

ADDRESSES AT THE MEETING-HOUSE.

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

BY WALDO LINCOLN.

You are here by invitation of the American Antiquarian Society to assist in the celebration of its one hundredth birthday. It is altogether a joyful occasion with no element of the sadness that accompanies similar events in the lives of men. The completion of one hundred years of existence by a learned society is no indication of approaching senility but rather is like the coming of age of a young man, about to enter with the vigor of manhood on the duties of life, and congratulations on the strength which has enabled a society to complete five score years are unmarred by any fear lest that strength may be but labor and sorrow.

Though distance and official duties have caused the absence of many whose presence would have been welcome, the Society is to be congratulated on the attendance of this notable audience. One marked feature of the Society, insisted on by its founder and constantly reasserted by its orators and officers during its whole existence, is its national character. The presence of the distinguished head of this great Republic on this occasion affords us, therefore, not only great individual pleasure, but serves to emphasize that national characteristic which differentiates this Society from others. And it is not only national, it is American. Formed with the intention of interesting and benefiting the whole country, it has ever drawn its members from all parts

of the Union and it covers in its work the whole continent. Except for this there would have been no excuse for its creation and there would be none now for its continued existence.

Yet one may reasonably ask why Worcester, at that time a town of no great importance, by no means the largest in the county, should have been selected by Mr. Thomas and accepted by his associates as the home of a National Society. Mr. Thomas's reasons are not far to seek. Driven from Boston with his printing press by the events of 1775, he found in the inland town of Worcester a safe refuge during the succeeding seven years of war, throughout which most of the coast towns were subject to hostile occupation and partial destruction. In 1812 the country was again at war with England and, until the victory of the Constitution over the *Guerrière* in August of that year, there was every reason to fear the occupation of our coast cities by a British fleet. Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore were especially exposed and the subsequent destruction of the public buildings in Washington proved that such fear was not unreasonable. The panic which led many of Boston's citizens to remove their securities to the safe deposit vaults of Worcester during the late war with Spain, offers further testimony to the wisdom of Mr. Thomas's choice of a permanent home for this Society's treasures. Moreover, in those days of slow and difficult communication, Worcester was not so remote or unimportant as would at first appear. On the direct stage routes from Boston to New York, and to Albany and the West, it offered a convenient resting place to the weary traveler between those points, when forty miles was a day's journey, and was visited by many important persons whom the rapid conveyances of to-day would have carried through without a stop.

We are gathered this afternoon on what, to this Society, is historic ground. This church stands upon the very spot where, soon after his arrival from Boston, Mr. Thomas set up his press and printed that patriotic

sheet, the *Massachusetts Spy*, and later produced that remarkable series of books which gained for him the title of the "Baskerville of America." For ninety-eight years the Society made its home in this immediate vicinity. Across the street, a little to the south, stands the Exchange Hotel, then called Sikes's Tavern, where in 1813 the Society held its first Worcester meeting. Through yonder northern windows we may look upon the site of Mr. Thomas's mansion house, the first home of the Society, where for eight years the members frequently assembled, where the Council met, and wherein was stored the valuable library which Mr. Thomas presented to the Society soon after its organization. Beyond is Lincoln square, on whose eastern side, on Summer street, Mr. Thomas erected the first Antiquarian Hall which, for over thirty years, was the Society's second home and which was still standing, though a ruin, until a few weeks ago. When, in 1854, the Society was obliged to seek other, more suitable and more commodious quarters, it found its third home, on this side of the square, immediately to the north of the Court House. There the Society continued for fifty-six years and when the safety and accommodation of its library and the exigencies of the County compelled a removal, it was with sincere regret that the Council found that, to meet all requirements, it was necessary to abandon this vicinity, so long the Society's home.

The relationship existing between the American Antiquarian Society and the Second Parish of the Town of Worcester has ever been most intimate. Next south of the old building on Summer street stood the first meeting house of the Parish, wherein were held the dedicatory exercises of the first Antiquarian Hall. On the site of the present church stood the second meeting house in which was held, in 1835, the only other public meeting of the Society in Worcester, up to the present time, a meeting held in memory of that distinguished librarian, Christopher Columbus Baldwin. This building was destroyed by fire in 1849 and was replaced by the present

meeting house in which we are met to-day. Of the Society's charter members from Worcester, all, without exception, were members of this parish, many having been associated with it from its first meeting in 1785. The first pastor, Rev. Aaron Bancroft, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, was a charter member and his successors, the Rev. Messrs. Hill, Hall and Garver, whose united ministries have given the parish the unique honor of having had but four pastors in one hundred and twenty-seven years, have been among our most valued associates; while of the Society's nine presidents five, whose united terms of service cover seventy-four years, have been members of this parish.

To you who have come to present your felicitations on this auspicious occasion, I extend the thanks of the American Antiquarian Society for your good wishes, and a cordial invitation to you and the institutions you represent to consult the library of this Society as if it were your own. Nor is this merely a polite phrase for, to the extent that its means have permitted, the Society has always granted to the public free use of its collections, restricted only by such rules as are consistent with the safety of the treasures, of which it considers itself the trustee rather than the owner; and, so far as its limited means will allow, it proposes to continue that privilege with increasing rather than diminishing liberality. In the days when libraries were few and kept somewhat closely guarded, or were reserved for the benefit of their owners or subscribers, this Society may claim the honor of having established and maintained one of the earliest free reference libraries in the country. So far as the use of its collections is concerned it grants to its own members hardly greater privileges than to others. For this reason it has always appealed with confidence to the public to assist it in making its collections, and has met, in the past, a generous response, else, having a very limited membership and totally inadequate means, how could it have accumulated such a splendid collection. Enthusiasm on the part of a

few members found a liberal public interested in the preservation of the records of the past, and nearly all of the Society's library was acquired by gift. This, however, was in the days when libraries were few and the individual collector possessed of comparatively small means. With the multiplication of historical libraries and the entrance of the multi-millionaire into the collecting field, prices of early Americana have been pushed far beyond the possibility of their acquisition by a Society like this; and, at the same time, an indiscriminating public, excited by the reports of fabulous prices paid for an old book, are no longer willing to give away even an old Bible, lest in their ignorance they may be disposing of a Gutenberg, worth fifty thousand dollars. So the individual collector secures the prizes of the auction rooms which are thereafter sequestered from public use. No libraries but those which are heavily endowed or supported by the government can enter into such competition and a society like this must content itself with making the best use of what it has, limiting its acquisitions to the less sought for items of printed matter, and to the precious manuscripts which its members and others, seeking a safe place of deposit, may be willing to entrust to its care, until a generous public, wakening to the value to the country of such a Society, shall grant it that same bountiful support which other educational institutions of the country have received.

DEMOCRACY AND THE CONSTITUTION.

BY ANDREW CUNNINGHAM McLAUGHLIN.

One of the most interesting things in our modern political life is the attitude of criticism toward our institutions and toward the constitution of the United States. We might properly speak of a spirit of fault-finding rather than of mere criticism, a spirit which has greatly developed in the last decade. It is not my intention to decry or applaud this tendency; to enter upon a discussion which might be construed into anything like a political or partisan discourse would not be appropriate or becoming on such an occasion as this. But as a student of American constitutional history I may be able to discuss constitutional conditions of the eighteenth century without incurring the charge of partisanship. This place of meeting, the city of Worcester, takes me irresistibly back to the days of 125 years ago when the newly founded institutions of Massachusetts were being sorely tried and when men of law-abiding instincts looking out upon the scene wondered whether free government could endure. Out of such turmoil as surrounded Worcester in those anxious days, came in considerable measure the impetus and the inclination to establish the union on a firm foundation and to give the national government the authority to establish justice and insure domestic tranquility. "These violent, I fear bloody dissensions," wrote John Marshall to James Wilkinson in January, 1787, "in a state I had thought inferior in wisdom and virtue to no one in the union, added to the strong tendency which the politics of many eminent characters among ourselves have to

promote private and public dishonesty, cast a deep shade over that bright prospect which the revolution in America and the establishment of our free government had opened to the votaries of liberty throughout the globe. I fear, and there is no opinion more degrading to the dignity of man, that these have truth on their side who say that man is incapable of governing himself. I fear we may have another revolution."

The criticism of the constitution of the United States as an eighteenth century document embodying in some considerable measure the ideas or principles of a past social condition is not new to professional scholars and publicists; and yet even among the scientific-minded, until a very recent date, there was a tendency, when viewing American constitutions, to inquire, not "Is this arrangement good and does it work well?" but rather "Why is this or that arrangement good and wherein are our institutions superior to those of other countries?" There was in American life a curious and interesting proneness to believe that the ultimate had been reached, an absence of that historical spirit which recognizes the fact that nothing human is absolute, that everything is relative and that all things change. This belief in permanence and unchangeable perfection was in part due probably to the fact that the political philosophy of early days—for even the non-bookish man has his political philosophy—was based on the assumptions that there existed an unchanging body of principles, a law of nature and of nature's God, which, once recognized and embodied in the constitution of the state, remained unshaken and undimmed by the movements of the passing decades and centuries. But it was also due to American achievement. The establishment of free institutions, the making and preservation of Union through a century in which the people of Europe were longing for political liberty or striving for national integration, led the American to look upon his own country as blessed; even the bitter struggle over slavery, even the corruptions and vulgarity of Reconstruction times, did not

markedly affect American idealism or dampen enthusiasm for American institutions.

It is no wonder that the student of American constitutional history is non-plussed; for unless he is too young to remember the common intellectual atmosphere of only a few years ago, he seems to have passed into a new stage of existence; it is no longer necessary to insist that we approach the men of the past as if they were men and not demigods; it is no longer necessary to declare that even in discussing our own deeds we should not be prejudiced or boastful on our own behalf.

Rarely, if ever, in our national life has there been so much need as now for candid presentation of historical truth. We are now having historical facts or imaginings thrust upon us. There is a continual appeal to history or to what passes as history. For a like condition we are carried back to the days before the Civil War when antagonist and protagonist sought with confident assertions of historical fact to show what the fathers intended to do with slavery; and I have often wondered what would have happened if James Buchanan, Stephen A. Douglas, or thousands less agile dealers in historical pronouncement, could have looked into the future or approached the facts of history with the knowledge, the absence of duplicity, the single mindedness which served Abraham Lincoln so well.

The Constitution of the United States is now declared to be an undemocratic document; it is even considered the result of conspiracy entered into by aristocratic leaders who, for their own manifest advantage, sought to rivet unchanging institutions on the country. Some of the assertions that are made in criticisms of this kind, though put forward as if entirely novel and revolutionary, are nothing more than commonplaces to the student of American constitutional history. Others are based on a fundamental misconception of eighteenth century conditions or they result from the propensity to judge everything from present day standards.

In any examination concerning the popular character of institutions we need to recognize the value and significance of words, and there is no more carelessly used word in the language than "democratic." Democracy, as we use the word, may mean individualism, that is freedom from restraint, opportunity to do what one will without governmental encroachment or restriction; and, where individualism exists, the spirit of individualism and of individual self-reliance is apt to exist. But democracy may mean equality, and the spirit of equality may be quite contrary to the spirit of individualism, though it is possible that the two may go hand in hand. Again democracy may mean the right or the authority of the masses of the people to manage their own affairs and to make use of government for their own interests. Democracy, in this latter sense, may be in absolute and complete conflict with individualism or even with equality. There is no reason for the co-existence of any two of these three principles which we commonly cover by the convenient word democracy or democratic.

During the eighteenth century the average man of America doubtless grew in self-confidence; but we should be quite wrong if we supposed that at the end of the colonial period, society was free from social distinctions or that everywhere prevailed a sylvan arcadian social régime in which men found their places by dint of their own inherent worth and virtue. The truth is that America early introduced some portions of old world class distinctions, and other portions crept in as the settlements grew older. There was not, in the Boston or Salem or Worcester of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, the rough, simple life characteristic of the early decades in the Mississippi Valley.

There was not theoretical social equality in the later years of American colonial history. The situation in New England, for example, is well known. Despite the simple conditions of life in which the people commonly lived, the older portions of New England were not democratic in the sense that there was no deference to

the social position or to wealth, education or ancestry. The old families were treated with marked respect. The names of Harvard students still appeared in order of social rank and prestige. Pews in church were assigned or held with like regard for honorable distinction. These later colonial conditions were somewhat changed by the struggle against England. The ferment of the Revolution released new energies; it affected the whole attitude toward social and political matters; the compulsory or voluntary exile of thousands of tories, men of education and of property, prepared the way for new social conditions. The war enlisted the sympathies of many men who had belonged to the inferior classes of society, and its progress helped to bring in new men and to break down old distinctions. Despite all this, the democratic sentiment did not master New England until a long time after the war; the struggle between the old New England and the new went on, a struggle which in its application to religion and to social standing is in one way the most significant thing in New England history for two generations.

In New York there was, previous to the Revolution, a group of great families intermarried and related, which long dominated the political and social life of the colony. "Until the middle of the century," says Professor Becker, "and until a much later date in the rural districts, the democratic ideal was without significance. The aristocratic flavor which everywhere permeated society prevented the common man from taking the initiative, and even from expressing judgment on political questions. To look up to one's superiors and follow their lead was quite the proper thing; for the leaders it was largely a matter of making their position known."¹ Here, as in New England, the Revolution disturbed existing conditions and gave new opportunity for popular sentiment. Thousands of loyalists left New York; the factional struggle was continuous and unremitting, and the state came out of the Revolution bereft of many

¹ Carl Becker, *Hist. of Pol. Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-1776*.

of her old leaders, but still not a democratic state in the modern sense. Even after the trials of Revolution and civil war, (for the Revolution was a civil war), there must have remained something of the old distinction, something of that attitude of mind which made men distrust popular judgment, or made the common man still a follower. After the war and as a result of it, conditions in New York were favorable to the development of democracy, if one excludes from consideration the remnant of aristocracy which survived the shock of the struggle and the dislocation of social and economic order.

Pennsylvania had the reputation of being democratic, and perhaps it was. The theories of Penn, the opportunity he gave for popular influence of the government, the long political struggles of the colonial period, which bear such similarity to the modern party conflicts, doubtless helped to give the colony and the state an air of democracy. "In Pennsylvania," said Gallatin at one time, "not only we have neither Livingstons nor Rensselaers, but from the suburbs of Philadelphia to the banks of the Ohio, I do not know one single family that has any extensive influence. An equal distribution of property has rendered every individual independent, and there is among us a true and real equality." It is hard to believe, however, that even in Pennsylvania the modern idea of democratic equality everywhere prevailed, and it is noticeable that Gallatin spoke of the country from "the suburbs of Philadelphia" westward to the Ohio.

The conditions in the southern states are in general familiar. Virginia was deeply stirred by the revolutionary sentiment and under the hammering of Jefferson and his followers gave up during the war, or soon after, entailed estates, primogeniture, the established church—in other words the more formal and traditional supports of privilege and of social distinction. The elements of society that gathered around Jefferson and Henry prepared the way for the theories and principles of Jeffer-

sonian democracy of a later day. But, of course, there was not modern democracy in the south, for despite the increasing influence of the up-country men, the large planter was still the dominating figure in Virginia life. When Benjamin Harrison was chosen a member of the old Congress, his less distinguished neighbors gathered to tell him they would be guided by his wisdom, not to direct him to follow the demands of the people. The situation in the middle of the eighteenth century is well brought out in the Life of Devereux Jaratt.

"We were accustomed to look upon, what were called *gentle folks*, as beings of a superior order. For my part, I was quite shy of *them*, and kept off at a humble distance. A *periwig*, in those days, was a distinguishing badge of *gentle folk*—and when I saw a man riding the road, near our house, with a wig on, it would so alarm my fears, and give me such a disagreeable feeling, that, I dare say, I would run off, as for my life. Such ideas of the difference between *gentle* and *simple*, were, I believe, universal among all of my rank and age. But I have lived to see, a vast alteration, in this respect, and the contrary extreme prevail. In our high *republican times*, there is more *levelling* than ought to be, consistent with good government. I have as little notion of oppression and tyranny as any man, but a due subordination is essentially requisite in every government. At present, there is too little regard and reverence paid to magistrates and persons in public office; and whence do this disregard and irreverence originate, but from the notion and practice of *levelling*? An idea is held out to us, that our present government and laws are far superior to the former, when we were under the royal administration, but my age enables me to know, that the people are not now, by half, so quietly and peaceably governed as formerly; nor are the laws, perhaps by the tenth part, so well executed. And yet I allow the superiority of our present government. In theory, it is certainly superior; but in practice it is not so. This can arise from nothing so much as the want of

a proper distinction, between the various orders of the people. But here I am rambling again, and must come back to my tract."

To generalize upon South Carolina as the typical planting state of the lower south is in some ways more difficult than to generalize of other communities. In the eighteenth century its population was still different in different localities; but of Charleston and its neighborhood surely no one can say that the spirit of equality prevailed or that there was faith and confidence in the political capacity of the common man. The big planters of the seaboard region ruled the state, and even the Revolutionary ferment did not transform the people of that region into democrats. I mean by democratic there was neither a sense of equality nor a belief that the main body of the people should do as they chose and should have the power and use it. Among the up-country people of the state, the element which had little to do with the planters of the coast, there was doubtless much of the simple political sentiment of the backwoods. But the state was in the planter's hands.

In all of the states of that time the frontier element was as yet uninfluenced by European notions of stratified society, but this frontier element did not control. Only in later years, as we shall see, when the frontier, because of its rapid peopling, became dominant, did real democratic sentiment prevail. The tremendous changes that came in the early decades of the nineteenth century gave to American society in general the democratic tone, temper and quality of the frontier.

I have passed over these facts in rapid survey because elementary though they be, such conditions of eighteenth century society often appear to be unknown and unappreciated. It is often supposed that the Revolution itself was a great universal popular movement, the result of an enlightened and awakened popular sentiment as if the great masses of the people had the opportunity, which came to them in the next century, to influence by a common public opinion the course of government;

but such was not the case. If we contrast America with Europe, America was democratic; it was ruled by popular desire, men moved on a plane of equality and of mutual self respect. But if we compare the eighteenth century with the nineteenth century, we must see that popular government, the compelling force of public opinion, the sense of political and social equality, are modern achievements, the result of historical evolution. If the governments of 1765 or 75 had been subject to the control of an alert, intelligent, public sentiment, if the attitude of the statesmen and the politician had been that of acquiescence in popular desire, if there had been consciousness of power in the main body of the people and the assurance that government must do what the people wished; if it had been possible for the people from one end of the country to the other to speak with confidence the word of command; if the individual man had possessed power and self-restraint, if he had felt himself a part of a composite whole—if all these things had been, then the Revolution, to be sure, might have come as a protest against the imperial control of England; but it would not have been our American Revolution; for the war, the struggle, the upheaval, while in part a protest against external control, was at home an attempt at readjustment, in part the result of developing democracy and of a growing sense of popular right. It was not the work of a fully conscious, fully equipped popular state; it was an incident in the development of democracy; it was a step forward in the establishment of governmental control by real popular desire. The Revolution developed democracy, unified the people, awakened new social sentiments; it gave coherence to popular wishes and established new organs for popular control. It was the beginning of a new era quite as much as the end of an old one.

The Revolution was in part the result of the gradual growth of popular sentiment and a protest against existing conditions. It brought in and developed doctrines of personal right; it broke down in some measure the

class system and the class feeling; it brought into great activity new social forces, new men, new orders of society. Though the war was in external appearance a struggle against England, it takes its place in our national development as a struggle for freer government, wider popular right, and deeper appreciation of individual worth and of individual effort. But despite this illuminating and developing character of the war, decades of growth were needed before American democracy came to a full realization of itself and its possibilities.

The theories of political rights on which the Revolution was based were such as had been used before in revolutions and were to be used again; the principles of natural right and justice. The fundamental theories were individualistic, not democratic, if by democracy we mean mass government. More and more distinctly as the war went on men indulged in objections to government on the theory that government and human rights were essentially at variance. At the beginning there was no objection to government; but the whole course of the Revolutionary argument emphasized the limitations upon government and thrust forward the inalienable right of the individual. The whole situation stressed the idea that government should be checked and limited, lest it endanger individual freedom or encroach upon natural right. American history will never be read aright till we see the tremendous significance of the change that came when men began to clamor for a government that could do things rather than for one that could not. To speak of the Revolution or its effects, therefore, as democratic may be to speak truthfully, if you mean that it broke old relationships, opened new vistas of activity, weakened governmental authority and tempted men to look askance at institutions of government; but it was not democratic in the sense that it was brought on by the steady, sober, concentrated purpose of the masses of the people who were fully conscious of their power as the possessors of actual authority.

Passing on to the period of the Confederation, we find the conditions which war, destruction of property, and the development of revolutionary philosophy explain. This is an old story; but it has generally been told as if it pointed only to the inadequacy of the Confederation, as if the sole trouble was the inefficiency of Congress and its pecuniary feebleness. It is true, probably, that the whole industrial situation was very deeply affected by the fact that the continental political order was not in accord with social and industrial needs. The want of this adequate expression of national life by the establishment of a national government powerfully reacted on the whole social order, and little by little the people, the more thoughtful of course, looked for relief from financial and social confusion to the nation.

But so much has been written of the frailties of the Confederation as a means of union, of the old rope of sand, of the government which was not a government, and of the value of the national governmental system, that insufficient attention has been paid to other conditions and failings. The industrial disturbance, the commercial disorder and confusion were more than a mere reflex from the inadequacy of this national government. Immediately after the war there were evidences of sudden expansion and of extravagance. In 1785 and 1786 the first flush of elation was succeeded by gloom and depression. There were hard times, and in the midst of the despondency men questioned the validity of a revolution which had, it appeared, only substituted one government for another and had not banished taxation or abolished courts and lawyers. The debtors who had looked with favor on the Revolution found that their newly established governments provided for the collection of debts and the imprisonment of debtors; the change in the purchasing power of money fastened many a man in hopeless shackles of indebtedness. There was, in truth, some recognition of the idea that government was not a master but a servant and must do the people's will; but in general the idea that the government belonged

to the people was obscured by the notion that government grew at the expense of liberty,—a feeling that the facts of the American Revolution could not immediately banish and to which the philosophy of the Revolution gave new vitality and force. It needed time to see the truth; it required time, as John Jay said, to change subjects into citizens, and until that change was made in the sentiment and in the consciousness of the average man, democracy must be little better than wilfulness. Despite this sense of opposition, this dread of government, this belief that government grew at the expense of liberty, there was a demand that some things be done by government for the relief of the people. Men wished to be released from debt; stay laws should be passed; the printing press should be set to work to make more money. There were thus two more or less contradictory positions—a fear that government would develop at the expense of liberty and a demand that the government, as the agent of the people, do certain things which would relieve the people from their distress.

No one can say just how far these ideas of opposition to government went, just how far the ordinary man was infected with the notion that the individual must prosper best without government. We know that the air was full of expressions of distrust. The old idea of natural right which the revolutionary fathers had borrowed from the philosophers of old had been undergoing a serious mutation. The old time belief that there were certain inalienable rights which man possessed in the state of nature and for the protection and establishment of which he entered society and founded government, had gradually given place to sentiments of regard and regret for the beatific state of nature which had passed away—a regard and a regret which, you will remember, was ostentatiously represented in France when pretty Marie Antoinette played the charming milk maid at Versailles. Now there is a decided difference between belief in the formation of society by compact, by virtue of which men left the inconveniences of nature to main-

tain their rights to life, liberty and property; and, on the other hand, belief in the gradual growth of government and all social conventions at the expense of primeval bliss. The philosophy of Tom Paine which was presented in "Common Sense" at the outbreak of the Revolution was now bearing its legitimate fruit. Paine had declared that the palaces of kings were built upon the ruins of the bowers of paradise, that government like dress is a badge of lost innocence, that government at the best is a necessary evil. That the American man of the confederate period who was about to enter upon a new social life, to enjoy governments which were his own, to reap the wealth of a continent which had been saved for his delectation and his greed, should have looked upon nature as good and man's institutions as vile, is not so strange; but that he should have looked *backward* to a golden age is an impressive illustration of human perversity. For, as we have said, the state of nature, instead of a state of inconvenience, of disorder and want, came to be spoken of as a state of bliss; out of the garden of Eden men had wandered and they should seek again the paths of peace and of plenty. All this feeling endangered the stability of government and society. Through the darkest days of the Revolution men like Washington had fought on with faith and firm resolve, but now they looked out upon the field with feelings of the greatest distrust. There are combustibles in every state, said Washington, that a spark might set fire to.

If one should endeavor to sum up in a few words the mental attitude of a considerable portion of the population in 1786, he would meet, I believe, many contradictions and certainly he would be perplexed by the problem. I am speaking of tendencies or of half-thought-out notions, not of any full philosophy nor of the thinking of the men like Bowdoin, Hamilton, or Washington, who looked into the face of actual facts and were capable of profound thought on government and society. There were in the first place unquestion-

ably many who did not as yet fully realize that they were participants in government or, that at all events, they might become so. These men still looked upon government as the affair of the upper classes, as something remote from the immediate control of the people. Secondly, despite this more or less placid acquiescence in the notion that they were not the governors, some elements of the population felt that government was hostile to their interests and that courts which enabled men to collect from debtors or which threw the unfortunate into prison were creatures of evil. There was a belief that government and liberty were in opposition. There was, however, thirdly a portion of the folk who insisted that government must do things for the poor, chiefly by making paper money and forcing creditors to accept it, and should thus enable men to reach that state of bliss of which so much had been said by pamphleteers or by the fervid revolutionary orator in the days of strife which had left their bitter after-taste. Contradictory or partly contradictory feelings and sentiments, therefore, prevailed—fear or dislike of government, acceptance of the notion that government was the business of the upper classes, the demand that government bring in the days of gladness.

This very part of Massachusetts in which we are to-day was, as we all know, the center of the most serious confusion, the most grave menace to established government and order. There were grounds for discontent. The Revolution had wrought industrial changes; the fluctuation and uncertainty of the money standard, the dislocation of industry had thrown many a man into what seemed hopeless poverty; nothing to him appeared certain save the loss of his property, if he had any, or the hospitality of the debtors' prison. Luke Day and Daniel Shays leading the forces of discontent and rebellion marched their motley host back and forth along these country roads, leaving behind them fear and gloom or awakening in the mind of simple countrymen visions of a better day of plenty and of ease.

Of course this rebellion—and this, too, is an old story—affected the men of the time that were solicitous for the American union and for well-ordered society. Men of conservative instincts became more conservative; the happy principle of the new philosophy of optimism, the belief that, if men were only left alone, they would seek their own best good, the doctrine that men naturally sought the right and that only evil came from interference with personal desire, lost its hold on the men of saner mind and of sounder instincts. If there were serious defects in the social and industrial order of the time, Shays's rebellion pointed to the need of government. "We find," said Knox, "that we are men, actual men, possessing all the turbulent passions belonging to that animal and that we must have a government proper and adequate for him."

Before the gloom of Shays's rebellion had passed away and while it still filled a large place in men's minds, the federal convention met at Philadelphia. Had that convention met a few years earlier there would have been evidence of more faith in the people, of greater reliance on the sense and native qualities of common man. Some of the optimistic philosophy of the time which rested on the notion that men were inherently good would have broken out in the discussion. But, of course, it is almost impossible to conceive of the Constitution's being made until after the experience of the Confederate period or until the coming of the dark days when men looked anarchy and mob rule in the face; and it is impossible to suppose that fears for property and for stable government did not influence the men who looked about them and saw the restlessness and discontent among the people.

When all is said, however, it is impossible to characterize the Philadelphia convention as essentially reactionary, unless we call it reactionary because the conservatives of the time felt the imperious demand for substantial government, or unless we take the sting from the word. To speak of that body, as we find it spoken of in recent books and articles, as a body of dark-

lantern conspirators plotting to maintain vested interests and to suppress the common man is ridiculous; to declare on the other hand that the delegates of the convention appreciated the significance of democracy in the modern sense is almost equally ridiculous. There was little capacity for appreciating the power and efficiency of a great body of men working soberly to do, through government, the things they desired to be done. Men of the convention were the victims of perplexing, if not contradictory, tendencies. They distrusted government and feared that government might grow to be a heavy burden upon the people, a sentiment which was prevalent in America despite a century and more of semi-popular control of governmental affairs. But they had come, on the other hand, also to the firm belief that property and individual rights must be protected by government and that government must be given sufficient strength and vigor to maintain itself and preserve order. Taught by the excesses of Shays's rebellion, knowing that there were combustibles in every state, these men feared popular waywardness and incapacity and believed in governmental restraint. And yet they feared that the government, passing into the hands of those who did not respect property rights, would be used to destroy vested interests or to overturn the established order. They felt, in other words, that government was necessary and that, on the other hand, unrestrained government might use its power to attack property and individual freedom. But that property and individual liberty were in opposition in the minds of men of the convention does not appear; if there is any such opposition, the conception is modern, not of the eighteenth century. The need of a strong, capable, efficient government that could protect property and maintain order was not inconsistent, according to their philosophy, with the preservation of individual liberty; for the right to the peaceful enjoyment of one's own was in itself an essential ingredient of liberty. They had no idea that liberty should be preserved by giving government the

right to take away private property or arbitrarily restrain or regulate its use. A long war had been waged against such theories of governmental right.

It is necessary that we should fully see this simple fact if we would understand the point of view of the men that made the Constitution. The right to acquire and use property was itself a God-given right, and free government was one so limited and checked that it could not seize upon private property without the owner's consent. We must remember that the revolution had been begun as a protest against the principle that property could be taken by the arbitrary action of government. That notion permeated the thinking of that generation. Locke's *Essay on Government* which furnished the philosophic argument for the Revolution was not a treatise favoring the efficiency of able government or advocating democratic control of individual property; on the contrary all its philosophy or nearly all was directed to the proposition that men entered society to secure the peaceful possession of one's own. We need read such texts as those of Locke to see how fully they justified revolt for protection of property from the clutches of arbitrary government and to find how fully the notion was ingrained that good government was one that would insure peaceful possession. Had it not been for the change in the notion concerning the state of nature, the coming in of the idea that men should return to the golden age when governments did not trouble and when men lived in the sweet possession of primeval innocence, there would have been no danger that revolutionary philosophy would have threatened the safety of property rights. The convention is now charged with being unpopular and undemocratic, but let us get certain distinctions clearly; if there was any sentiment abroad in the land that might be said to be the sentiment of the common people, it was probably this dislike of government, this fear that government could do things, this belief that men's woes were the result of encroachment upon pure individual right.

If these instincts of the people had been obeyed, there would not have been any government or at least it would have been one, though bound and fettered, thoroughly incapable of doing the things which we are now told democratic government should do. The democracy of 1787 was individualism, freedom from governmental restraint, and that is something quite different from plenitude of governmental legislation—free interference with the individual for the good of the community, wide activity of government for public good.

I do not wish to be misunderstood; I am not objecting to modern democratic collectivism. I am only objecting to anyone's complaining that the fathers did not provide, in response to popular desire, for a democratic government that would and could regulate social, domestic, public and industrial life for the benefit of the people at large. I am only saying that such a complaint contains a contradiction within itself. Just that kind of a government was *not* in accord with popular desire in 1787. For three-quarters of a century, in fact after the convention of 1787, the stirring watchword of American life was *liberty*—not modern humane, unceasingly active, painfully solicitous, paternalistic democratic government—but non-interference.

The men of the convention did not have a clear idea of the essentials of popular representation as we have it to-day. Some of the notions, which we consider fundamental and elementary, only gradually and slowly took their strong and solid hold upon the American mind. We think, of course, that people, not interests, are represented. We suppose that representation should be proportionate to population because government is expected to do the popular will. Even those persons, if such there be, who advocate property qualifications for suffrage do so on the belief that irresponsible voting by the shiftless is dangerous to the stability of government. But the men of the Convention, or some of them, appear to have thought that as government was established to protect property, the owners of property should

have the representation. Though none of the delegates, as far as I can remember, proposed making distinctions among those that held the suffrage and in some such way bestowing more power on the propertied than on the unpropertied men within the suffrage holding class, the discussions on the subject of representation by states clearly indicate that some of the delegates failed often, if not always, to grasp and present the essentially human principles of the idea of representation.

There is no evidence from the debates that, on the subject of suffrage, the delegates were less democratic than the men that made the state constitutions; in this respect, despite the excesses and the dangers of the Confederate period and the disappointments felt by the statesmen of the time as they looked about them and saw disturbance, confusion and unrest, the men of the federal convention appear to be at least as far ahead as the makers of the revolutionary documents, a fact on the whole surprising. Of course, the framers knew that distinct reaction, even if it were desirable, would endanger the adoption of the Constitution.

No one seriously proposed the granting of universal and unlimited suffrage. As we know, the right to vote for representatives in Congress was finally left to the states for determination, by the provision that anyone could vote for representatives who had the right to vote for the members of the most numerous branch of the state legislature. It must be remembered that the states had then as a rule property qualifications. The proposition in the convention to limit suffrage to freeholders was supported by the assertion that they were the best guardians of liberty and that to restrict the right thus was a necessary defence against the dangers likely to arise from those possessed of neither property nor principle. To limit the suffrage to freeholders was not so undemocratic as it may seem, for G. Morris, who was on the whole strong for semi-aristocracy, pointed out that nine-tenths of the people were freeholders. There was, however, even on this crucial matter no concurrence of

opinion. Franklin, for example, insisted that the convention should not depress the virtue and public spirit of the common people which had been a great standby during the war. This was a characteristic statement coming, as it did, from the one state whose qualifications for the suffrage were most liberal. Ellsworth of Connecticut declared that virtue and talents were not confined to freeholders.

There was a belief that the state legislatures were more trustworthy than the ordinary voters. Even Roger Sherman who had begun life as a shoemaker and whom we should scarcely classify as an aristocrat plotting against the liberties of his countrymen, declared that election ought to be by the state legislature, that the people should have as little to do as may be with the national government, for they were lacking in information and likely to be misled. In the discussions, therefore, as to whether the lower house of Congress should be chosen by the people, while there were some delegates who favored election by the main body of the people, others desired election by the state legislature. General Pinckney, for example, thought election of members of the Lower House by the people would be uneven and impractical; he differed from those who thought that a choice by the people would guard against bad measures; a majority of the people of South Carolina were notoriously for paper money, while the legislature was opposed. Rutledge, who like Pinckney came from South Carolina, declared that election by the legislature is more refined and more likely to correspond with the real sense of the community. Mason, on the other hand, trusted the people and declared that legislatures had issued paper money when the people were against it. Perhaps on the whole there was more or less belief that by having the representation indirect, by having the representatives chosen by men who had themselves been selected, the representatives would be men of higher character and more fit for government; this sifting and winnowing process, it was thought, would secure the very best and

most capable men to manage the affairs of government. If we doubt this principle now, if the notion seems old-fashioned and un-American, it may be well for us to stop and consider how recent is the belief that the more immediate and direct the participation of the people in the choice of officials, the better. Even with the change that came within a generation after the Convention, a change manifested in the state constitutions which began to provide for the election of officials previously appointed, there remained in the minds of many persons the notion that this process of choosing men who would themselves choose others was a process adapted to the selection of the best.

The belief that the legislatures were more competent than the people themselves to choose the representatives to the national government was by no means universally held nor was there complete faith in the state legislatures. Gerry, for example, pointed out that in Massachusetts men who were themselves criminals had secured seats in the legislature and he favored a scheme by which the legislature should choose representatives from a number nominated by the people. He said he had been "too republican heretofore; he was still, however, republican; but had been taught by experience the danger of the leveling spirit."

The need, however, of building the new government on the people themselves was seen by the delegates in the Convention. Mason, though himself one of the big southern planters, with a large estate, one of those men who had controlled the social and political life of Virginia, saw the need of popular support and favored election by the people that all classes might be represented. "We must not go too far," he said, "We must preserve a portion of Democ[racy]; our own Children will in a short time be among the gen'l mass." Madison believed that there was danger in removing the government too far from the people and that an effort must be made to secure the affection of the populace for the general government. These are only examples of the feeling

that government ought to rest on the people. The result of the discussion was a provision in the Constitution for the direct election of representatives by the people. The manner of choosing senators was decided upon, it would seem, partly because of the desire to obtain a class of men different from those chosen to the House. There was at least some expression of the belief that senators should be rich men.¹

The general attitude toward democracy, the government by the main body of the people, is evidenced in many places. While there was, on the whole, no express desire to limit the suffrage more fully than it was done by the majority of the state constitutions, there was an evident distrust of government in which the people would have free sway. It is apparent that while the control of the masses of the people was considered unwise and dangerous, there was a feeling that governmental power should be restrained and checked in order that no class of people could work their will arbitrarily. Randolph said that none of the state constitutions provided sufficient checks against democracy and declared that "our chief danger arose from the democratic part of our constitution." Hamilton declared that the impudence of democracy should be checked. Madison believed a levelling spirit had shown itself sufficient "to give notice of the future danger." Morris found the democratic element of the legislature precipitate and given to excesses "against personal liberty, private property, and personal safety." There were a few men who did not hesitate to express their general belief in the integrity, worth and capacity of the people. Wilson said at one time that the people should elect the president.

Though many of the members desired to establish a government removed in some degree from the direct, immediate control of the main body of the people, the

¹ See Gouverneur Morris's speech of July 2nd in which he defends the proposition that if the rich are given power and authority in a second branch they will be opposed by others and the two elements will hold each other under control. But even Morris feared the rich.

Convention was by no means anxious to establish an aristocracy. Here, again, there is no evidence that the Convention was out of sympathy with what was the common sentiment of the day, if we can judge from the state constitutions, and not from the extravagance of Daniel Shays's camp. There was a real fear of an aristocracy; though apparently some of the delegates thought the convention work pointed in that direction, for Mason spoke sarcastically of completing the aristocracy that was probably in "the minds of some among us." Mercer said that whenever rights of property were secured an aristocracy will grow out of it; and that the governments of America would become aristocracies and in fact were that already. "The Executive," he said, "has not force, deprive him of influence by rendering the members of the (Legislature) ineligible to Executive offices, and he becomes a mere phantom of authority. The Aristocratic part will not even let him in for a share of the plunder." He wished such war as was liable to arise to be between the aristocracy and the executive, in order that the rights of the people might be preserved. There was fear that the Senate, if granted too much power, would become, as Randolph said, "a real and dangerous Aristocracy."

The attitude toward monarchy is not easily discovered. If we should judge from an entry in McHenry's notes, a considerable number of the delegates must have believed in their hearts that the only solution for the whole trouble was the establishment of a king. But little evidence, save these notes of McHenry's, points in that direction; indeed, day after day the convention was perplexed by the tasks of providing for a strong executive who would nevertheless be so limited and held in check that he could not assume the regal power. There are a few statements to the effect that limited monarchy is a good form of government. Hamilton said that he was led "to despair that a Republican Government could be established over so great extent." He was sensible that it would be unwise to propose any other

form; though in his private opinion the British government was the best in the world and he doubted whether anything short of it would do in America. Gerry declared that there were not one part in a thousand among the people who were not opposed to monarchy. Possibly the discussion of the subject would have been more or less serious if the delegates had not known that the people would never establish a monarchical system. We must remember that, twelve years before, these men had been subjects in a monarchical empire, most of them probably loyal to the king, as were the great body of the American people. The surprising thing is that there was now so little confidence in the monarchical system, so distinct a belief that monarchy should be prevented.

The prevailing notion, the one that had decided influence in the debates of the convention, was that society was made up of interests which were likely to be in conflict, each tending to work for its own advantage. Elements of the population which appeared at that time to have their peculiar needs and desires should be taken into consideration and either given power of self protection or prevented by check and balance from acquiring control of government. "In all civilized countries," said Madison, "the people fall into different classes, having a real or supposed difference of interests. There will be creditors and debtors; farmers, merchants, and mechanics." All this seems essentially old-fashioned even if in these days we discard much upon the hold which the so-called "interests" are supposed to possess and the influence they are supposed to exercise. But there was no attempt on the part of the men at Philadelphia to favor any particular class, unless it be held that when the delegates believed, in common with constitution makers of that generation, that voters should be possessed of property and officials be men of substance, they must be regarded as desiring the peculiar protection of class interests, or unless we insist on considering provision against bills of credit and acts impairing the obligations of contract can be so considered.

When we look at the finished Constitution in light of all the discussion, what do we find? Certainly not a simple government, expressive of a belief that the main body of the people, in a mass, should by direct vote determine what should be done and who should be their governors. Before anything like this could come, there must arise a fuller sense of national unity, a realization of the unity of the people of the nation; for the uppermost fact to the men of 1787 was the existence of states, each of which had its government, and, though sense of national life was not absent, the great problem was the problem of federalism, of discovering a method for maintaining the union and of holding the state in leash. You must have solidarity before you can have democracy.

It cannot be said that the Constitution of the United States has retarded the growth of democracy, but in the interest of historical accuracy, it needs to be said that it did not establish democracy. It is practically correct to say that in 1787 the American people were not a democratic people, if we mean by the word democracy all that the word now connotes. American democracy came in the course of a generation or two, with the extension of the frontier and the rapid spreading of the people over the Mississippi Valley, with the forming of new states under their free liberal constitutions, with the growing appreciation of what the American Revolution really meant and of what America really stood for, with the preaching of the Jeffersonian principles and the gradual formation of national parties, with the development of party machinery which carried political power down to the voter and out to the remotest hamlet, with the improvement of means of communication and intercourse, with, above all, the development of national consciousness, the sense of national existence, the realization of identity, unity and power. And whence this spirit came we hardly know, for "the wind bloweth where it listeth and we hear the sound thereof but we cannot tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth." Such sense, such self-consciousness came slowly. Constitution makers

could not produce it or make it out of hand; industrial and social growth, vigorous expansion and joyous boastful achievement, national pride, all contributed to produce that consciousness of identity of interests, that consciousness of the multiple self which is the characteristic of modern American democracy, a consciousness of self which is coupled with an assurance of power. The New England town meeting is often pointed to as the democratic institution par excellence, the sum and the symbol of popular government; but life in the New England town in its development owed much to the widening and deepening of American life; nationalism, continental consciousness of popular power strengthened and expanded the narrow half-expressed democracy of the people of the Massachusetts hamlet.

There is an old idea to which I have already referred that in early days the people, eager in all political matters, took vital interest in affairs of state and were deeply engrossed in politics, an idea which ought to be dissipated by merely remembering that the eighteenth century newspaper was the source of knowledge of political affairs; interchange of ideas was difficult; large proportions of the people led isolated lives; as long as they were left alone, government meant little to them. Even those entitled to vote did not exercise the privilege. In later colonial times the number was small. A larger percentage voted in Virginia than in Massachusetts for in the former state compulsory voting was provided for by a law punishing delinquents. Even after the formation of the Constitution, the people for a generation took less interest in elections than one would have supposed possible. A study of the figures shows how true it is that with the outcry against King Caucus in 1824, with the charge that the people had been defrauded by the election of John Quincy Adams, with the election of Jackson, the frontiersman from the unhallowed West, the people came to their own. And yet probably not till 1840, in the log cabin campaign in the days of sound and nonsense and campaign doggerel, did the American people, all

up and down the scale, come to a full realization that this was their government, that they owned it, were bound to make it do their will, and were to have some fun out of the process. Not till the election of Jackson did the presidency become what Professor Ford has called it, a representative institution. With Jackson came that most significant change in American constitutional development—the president in direct contact with the people became the immediate agency of their desires, the immediate personal representative of all.

Such changes as these I have just mentioned, changes that came without alteration of constitutional phraseology, should banish the notion that eighteenth century notions of semi-aristocracy were fastened like a straight-jacket on the body of the nation. Eighteenth century individualism has been, it is true, perpetuated in constitutional law as a theory of approach and interpretation, but even here the bonds have been, in many cases, loosened by intelligent construction—a subject altogether too large for reasonable discussion here. But when all is said, this at least must be the conclusion of the intelligent student of American constitutional history—this simple fact which modern discussion appears frequently to lose sight of—that American democracy has expanded and developed, we might almost say has come into being, since the Constitution of the United States was formed. The turmoil and confusion, the dread and foreboding, that possessed the town of Worcester and the hamlets of Western Massachusetts 126 years ago, when Shays and Luke Day and Job Shattuck and their hungry camp followers were testing the strength of the new institution of the state were not symptoms of wholesome self-possessed democracy; nor was the strident individualism of the man who shrieked for a return to a state of natural bliss and primitive content a symptom of the aggressive, progressive democracy that was to look forward to a bright future, not backward to a state of social inactivity. American democracy grew, and it grew with a developing consciousness of popular power which begat a sense of

popular responsibility and sobriety, with a consciousness of the identity of the common and the individual interest. If the time has gone by when we prate proudly of our institutions, we need feel no regret; we must make our institutions, they can never make us; and, if there was something useful and upbuilding in the complacent boastfulness of past generations when men blindly believed we had reached the ultimate and found the absolute, we may hope that a realization of truth and a struggle for betterment will make themselves felt in the establishment of higher and better common life.

NOTE.

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge was to have delivered an address upon "International Arbitration," but circumstances prevented. He read an interesting paper upon "Reminiscences of a Boyhood Trip to Europe" which is not published in these Proceedings, since it will appear in printed form elsewhere.

CENTENNIAL DINNER.

The centennial dinner of the Society was held at the Worcester Club at 7.15 p. m., and was attended by 107 members, delegates and guests. The speaking began at about 8.45 p. m., and the toastmaster was the President of the Society, Mr. WALDO LINCOLN.

In his introductory remarks, Mr. LINCOLN said: I wish to preface my remarks with a brief reference to this Society as a national institution and to its relations with the United States government. In 1812 Isaiah Thomas and his co-workers established the American Antiquarian Society as a national historical association, but without one cent of government support. I doubt if such a thing could be done to-day. That is, I do not know of any body of men who would to-day attempt such an enterprise without either a large endowment or a national subsidy. The Society, founded through private philanthropy, has always continued to derive its support from the munificence of its members. The only assistance which the founders asked from Washington was that it should receive all government publications, and in December, 1814, Congress passed a special act ordering that all publications of the United States government should henceforth be sent to the American Antiquarian Society.

I will mention as a matter of information and one which may interest our guests, that there have been seven Presidents of the United States members of the Society—John Adams, 1813; Thomas Jefferson, 1814; James Madison, 1818; James Monroe, 1818; John Quincy

Adams, 1839; Andrew Jackson, 1818; Rutherford B. Hayes, 1890—and to-day we have elected the eighth President of the United States.

The Society asks of the government no other support than the recognition so pleasantly shown to-day by the presence of the chief executive of the republic. To-night I shall propose but a single toast. I ask you to rise and drink the health of the President of the United States of America.

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT TAFT.

Mr. Chairman, gentlemen of the American Antiquarian Society, and my fellow guests:—

In the first place I wish to express my profound appreciation of and gratitude for the honor you have done me in electing me a member of this Society. I am glad to be in such good presidential company.

The variety and the characters of the Presidents who have constituted membership indicate that your rule of selection has not been visible at any rate.

I am especially gratified to be elected a member of this Society because my father was a member before me. I know how he valued it, and I was glad to be able to talk with one of the older officers of the Society to-day about the visits that my father invariably made to Worcester when he came to Millbury. He never visited Millbury that he did not come to Worcester to visit the Antiquarian Society and consult some of the records in which he was interested.

I dislike to speak of history in the presence of those who write it, but with the exception of what you actually do yourself, and even with respect to that, sometimes, everything in life seems to be a question of evidence, of establishing facts accurately and with proper relation to each other.

My experience has been chiefly in courts. There was a time when I thought all men were liars, until I had had experience in sitting on the bench and hearing

witnesses testify to exactly the same thing—witnesses apparently with the same opportunity for observation, with equal freedom from interest in the event to which they were giving their evidence, and the thing that shook me, that made me skeptical as to whether I was alive myself or not, was the difference in the stories that they told of the same thing, and the difficulty of reaching a conclusion as to what actually happened from the oral evidence of those who saw.

Now when you transfer that difficulty to a time one hundred years ago, or fifty years ago, practically you have to reject oral evidence altogether; at least that of those gentlemen who come forward thirty years after the war and tell us what happened in battles in which they were participants. I pass those statements over now only as an evidence of their kindly interest in the event, without any confusion arising from the contradiction between what they say and what somebody else says who was present on the same occasion. The fact is that what we have to get is contemporary evidence, and we have to dissect that; and what you in a society like this are doing, if I understand it, is the accumulation of that contemporaneous evidence that gives, first, as near as possible an accurate statement of what occurred, and, second, gives the atmosphere in which the things occurred which make up history. That is what I understand an antiquarian society like this is for. Heaven knows we would not want to preserve many of the newspapers for any other purpose than to give the correct local coloring in which we are to judge the events and the facts that happen.

I think it must be great fun to be an historian. I think so, Mr. Rhodes, especially a successful one. There is nothing so fascinating as the weighing of evidence and the attempt to reach a proper conclusion from the different circumstances that by a sort of logical triangulation enable you to reach the point, and the proper position of the point—Prof. Mendenhall, of the coast survey, you will understand that—which is in question.

Nations differ as to the evidence that is left of facts. The civil law countries dwell much more on formal records than do we. I think the Spanish carry it to an excessive and extreme degree. I am told, indeed, I know, because we had to appropriate some money in the Philippines to send people to Spain to find out what had happened in the way of decrees registered at Seville that we could not get anywhere else. They have what they call documentation, and while the Spaniards impressed a great many of their customs on the Filipinos, they were not always as convincing as they were with respect to documentation. There were two things that enabled us to rid the Philippine islands of treasonable conspiracies against our authority. One was that no sooner was a revolution planned than the president of the republic, the commander-in-chief of the forces, the secretaries of the cabinet, eight in number, were all selected, and their uniforms arranged for and generally purchased. The second was that they documented in full their proceedings, and as the documents were the basis of their title to rank, they were not so concealed but that we were able to get hold of them. I think that is a rather ludicrous instance of carrying documentation too far.

I learn from Gaillard Hunt of the state department that there are a great many valuable records in government offices to which very little access has been given to those who might make proper use of them. Of course the Civil War records have been published at great expense to the government, and I fancy with respect to that war—I can be corrected if it is not true—the records are as complete as any nation has made the records of any war. But with respect to the Mexican War, it is not so, and it is not so with respect to the War of 1812, as, indeed, it is not so with respect to a great many transactions of the government as to which historians may properly take an interest and make an investigation.

When I was secretary of war we had a gentleman at the head of the department of records whose name was

General Ainsworth. He combined effectiveness with a rigidity of rule as to the examination of the records that even his superior officer could not overcome. His arguments against allowing anybody to go rummaging through the records were usually so elaborate, and they took so long in their presentation that before the subject was finally decided the investigator either died or left the controversy in disgust. Now General Ainsworth is not there, and there is another adjutant-general. It is possible that the records are more accessible now than they were in my day. We have long wished in Washington to have a bureau of archives—a building sufficient in size to hold records of interest which can be there classified and indexed so that somebody can use them. Congress has appropriated money enough to buy a block in Washington for the erection of a building for archives, but that block has remained there now for upward of certainly ten years with no bureau constructed upon it. There creeps into the mind, when you investigate the question, the thought that there was a little more interest in the disposition of the property to the government than there was in the erection of the bureau of archives and the use of the land after it was purchased. I am hopeful that in some session partisan considerations and penurious desire to keep down appropriations will not interfere with the appropriation of money enough to have a proper bureau of that kind. Certainly a society like this could help the government. The government ought to be glad to have the recommendations of a committee of this society as to what ought to be done with reference to the archives. I cannot guarantee that Congress will accept such recommendations. That is not part of my constitutional function. I can only say that I shall be very glad to transmit it and join in the recommendation if it seems appropriate at any time to make it while I have power to do so. I observe that Congress in 1814 turned over to this Society all the publications, and I am glad to know that that resolution is still in force and unrepealed,

but I would not breathe it, Mr. Chairman, too loudly. It might be taken away. It is a great pleasure, gentlemen, to be present in this company, especially after I have stood for four or five hours each day for the past two days looking at battleships and straining my eyes and ears to catch the proper salutes, to come into this peaceful presence and feel the effect of a common desire to promote not wars, but an accurate history of the progress of mankind, which, while it has included wars in the past, I am sure I speak the hope of all those present, may include very few of them in the future.

President LINCOLN then remarked:

When this Society was founded a state of war existed between the United States and Great Britain, and for many years thereafter relations between the two countries could hardly be considered cordial. But peace has now existed for nearly one hundred years, and the two former enemies are now close friends. May this Society's second centennial find that peace still continuing. Among the British members of the Society is one whom all Americans admire and love. He found his way to our last meeting, and it is a pleasure to know that he enjoyed it so well that he has come again this year. I have the honor to present to you His Excellency Right Honorable James Bryce, Ambassador Plenipotentiary and Extraordinary of Great Britain.

REMARKS BY AMBASSADOR BRYCE.

I thank you very much, Mr. President, for the kind words you have spoken in regard to the relations between our countries and our people most perfectly echo the sentiments you have expressed. There never should have been a war between the two countries. There are no two countries that God designed that are adapted better one to another than yours and ours.

It is a high privilege which I feel to be able, on behalf of the historians of my country—if I may venture to

assume that function—and on behalf of her universities, the University of Oxford and the British Academy, to present to you the greetings and the congratulations of the historians of Great Britain and Ireland upon the one hundred years of useful and worthy work which you have accomplished and to offer their wishes and hopes that the great work of this Society shall even excel in the future the work of the years already passed.

Mr. Washburn, in the admirable address which he gave us this morning, said that this Society was national. I hope he will allow me to say that it is also international in its interests. All historical societies are laboring in the same work and for the same purpose. Every one of them is both national and international, because their work is directed toward the ascertaining of truth. In this, we need each other's help. We are actuated by the same spirit. It is in that spirit that the historians of Great Britain greet you and hope that you will not always confine your labors to this country, but by intermingling of those who come and go from the one country to the other and by contributions along historical lines, may aid one another in the task of discovering historical truth.

I also congratulate you upon the fact that our functions and your functions, as seekers of historical truth, are not likely to come to an end. History is being made faster than it can be written. There never was a period in the history of the world when so much more was going on, when history was being made more rapidly than in these days of ours. Those present who can go back fifty years know how peaceful a world it was, and it has not slackened, and when we hear how countries like China and Japan, which have laid outside the circle of what we have called our civilization, are now adopting our ideas, it is encouraging. But these changes in the Eastern world and the changes which are to go on in our countries make the task of ascertaining historic truth one of world interest.

As the President of the United States has well said, we obtain the truth by searching out the evidence, and

just as he has said, out of much contradictory evidence truth emerges and is at last clearly set forth. And so it is true, gentlemen, that history, in spite of all of the contradictions that may arise, succeeds in evolving therefrom a certain amount of truth. The difficulties in this direction are greater now than they ever were before, particularly in respect to the enormous number of volumes written about every conceivable subject. This doubtless shows how difficult it is to extract the truth. The philosopher Aristotle has observed that there is only one way of being right, but many ways of being wrong. Our present sources of information seem disposed to try those many ways. Still a man will take pains to sift the evidence and he is bound to secure some truth. It has become exceedingly difficult, as a contemporary historian, Mr. Rhodes, has said, to extract the exact truth from newspapers. The ideal historian must be a man of serene temperament, a man who can separate from a mass of misrepresentations the truth, weighing all the evidence. We should take a calm view in all of our inquiries into historical matter, analyzing and sifting it to a degree that will furnish us accuracy.

I fully agree with the President's statement that historical societies could be effectually assisted by the erection of a national depository to contain important archives. Much private correspondence bearing upon important affairs is being lost because of a lack of place in which to put it. This should be made available for the historian of the future by being collected and arranged. Some of this private correspondence has a greater value in the making of history than some of the statements appearing in the daily journals; but it must, of course, be examined critically with regard to the character and means of information of the writer.

Another observation I want to make, and that is this: That I am very much struck in this country by the change that is passing upon us. We have never seen before in any other country the tremendous immigration that is bringing men from every foreign shore here. You have

in Worcester in one of your great works that makes the city so prosperous many nationalities. Now these men and the sons of these men will grow up to be American citizens. They will speak English. They will need to be made as far as possible similar in thought and spirit to you New Englanders. It is the duty of this generation to make these men the Americans you would have them. You have joined with generous impulses high purposes, and there also belong to you great traditions. It is for you now to try to imbue them with the traditions, high impulses and purposes that make the glory of the United States. It is by traditions that nations live and prosper.

A historical society like this can do a great deal to show men how to assist one another in taking up the steps necessary to make these people realize what a community they have been given and how they should strive to attain high ideals of citizenship. You can render no greater service to the world which is watching you, than by seeing that the citizens you train are worthy of these traditions and purposes.

In introducing Federico Alfonso Pezet, the Peruvian minister, the toastmaster said:

That portion of the American continent south of the Rio Grande presents questions of archaeology and history of intense interest to all students of American antiquities. The printing press was established at Mexico one hundred years and at Lima about sixty years before it was set up in New England, so that this Society, in its search for American imprints previous to 1820, finds a rich field in Central and South America. Possessing a special fund for the purchase of books relating to those countries, the Society is rapidly acquiring a fine collection of Spanish Americana. I hope our members in that portion of the continent may assist to increase that collection, especially in the field of early newspapers. I know it will give you pleasure to listen to a citizen of

one of the most interesting of the South American republics, and I take pleasure in presenting his Excellency, Señor Federico Alfonso Pezet, Minister Plenipotentiary of Peru.

REMARKS BY FEDERICO A. PEZET.

Gentlemen, the American Antiquarian Society, which celebrates its first centennial has honored me with the request that I shall be one of the speakers at this festival. I feel that a very great and difficult task has been assigned to me, and since listening to the scholarly and eloquent speeches of the distinguished personages who have already addressed you, I feel convinced that my acceptance of the task was presumptuous, because my remarks must necessarily fall short in quality of the addresses we have just listened to.

However, it is one of the racial traits of the Latin-American never to balk at a difficulty or declare himself foiled in any honorable attempt to accomplish what has been asked of him, and which wittingly he has undertaken; therefore, gentlemen, I will ask you to grant me your kind indulgence and to overlook the consequent shortcomings of my remarks on this very memorable occasion.

I had no clue whatever as to the nature of what my address should be. I have been asked to say a few words of interest and encouragement on behalf of South America, because I represent an important Latin-American country, one of the most interesting archaeologically, and consequently and for the reason already given, I am here at the post assigned me ready to do my duty at duty's call.

It would be more than presumptuous on my part to tell this learned Society and its distinguished guests anything new about the archaeology of Peru. I take it for granted that the Society and the men of learning at this board know more of the subject than I could tell them. Beside, the American Antiquarian Society, ac-

cording to its handbook of information, has given over to other institutions its anthropological and ethnological specimens, and confined itself more specially to books, periodicals, manuscripts and everything of the nature which aids in the study of history; the care of the works that lead to that study, and evidently it is more concerned with similar works in other parts of the world than with any reference to the archeology of the monuments or of the peoples of those lands.

Before proceeding, I think is of very great interest and of importance to recall at this precise moment when we are gathered here to do honor to the one hundredth anniversary of this Society of learning and research, the fact that representative and professional men of this country, alumni of Yale, the alma mater of your most distinguished guest, President William Howard Taft, under the leadership of Prof. Hiram Bingham, are carrying on in the heart of Incalander the study of the prehistoric man of this continent.

Of the Spanish-American countries, Peru, Mexico and Central America contain the most interesting archaeological remains as yet discovered in the continent. You are all familiar with the Toltec, Aztec, Maya, Cara and Inca civilizations. Several among your own countrymen have made studies of them and helped in the research of their histories. William H. Prescott wrote the history of the conquests of Mexico and Peru, treating the subject in a style and manner that has made them standard works of literary and historic value, while popularizing the subjects throughout the world. Hubert Howe Bancroft, in his notable work on the "Native Races of America", E. George Squier, in his publications, "Incidents of travel and exploration in the land of the Incas," and Justin Winsor, in his "Narrative and Critical History of America," are just a few of the men who have done very good work. More especially are Bancroft and Winsor to be commended, because Squier is apt to invade the realm of fantasy and is at times misleading. In England, Germany, France and Spain writers of

repute have contributed to the biography or bibliography of primitive Peru and of other American countries. Many notable works have been written.

In all of these, while there is much reliable information, there are also many inaccuracies, not a little speculation, and much imagination; therefore, while acknowledging them as contributions of value to the study of American archaeology, they are not by any means the last word upon the subjects, and in this respect it is encouraging to note the increasing desire for accurate knowledge which the present day world seems to show. A proof of this is that this Society has within the last few years established a department specially devoted to Spanish Americana, and that this is rapidly growing in importance, while the establishment of the Hispanic Society of America, due to the munificence of Archer Huntington and his devotion to the cause of an increased knowledge of Hispana America, is but another instance of what the men of this great country can achieve when they set themselves the task.

I take this opportunity to thank both societies, the Antiquarian and the Hispanic, in the name of the Spanish-American countries, and as the spokesman of their people, and personally I can assure you that I will give myself the pleasure of recommending to the Historical Institute of Peru the work of this Society and its endeavor to increase its collection, and I feel convinced that by bringing together this Society and the Latin-American societies of history research, archaeology and antiquities generally, a great good will be achieved for the benefit of all students of historical research.

In the brief space of time which I necessarily dispose of, I cannot attempt to give anything like a review of the work which is being carried on in Spanish-America on the lines of your own work here, but I assure you that in each of the countries of Latin America there are men who are working unceasingly and in the same manner as your own men of learning and of science for the common good and the culture of mankind.

In every one of the Latin-American republics there exist societies and institutions which faithfully and conscientiously collect and record the great events which aid in the making of history, and by a constant attention to the work of investigation and research add their quota to the universal labor of extending present-day knowledge of past events and of ages prehistoric.

We in Peru have men of learning and men of research, and we are proud of them. The work of these men and of their colleagues of other Spanish-American countries is already breaking through the barriers which ignorance of our country had erected around them, an unfortunate ignorance which has given to Spanish America a reputation which in many respects is most undeserved, because it has deprived us even of such traits as are common to the rest of the civilized world, the desire for knowledge and for study, and the capacity to achieve greatness.

Speaking of my own country, Peru, because it is the one with whose history I am somewhat familiar, I say that the nation which has produced in the past a civilization the like of which was not surpassed by any of the primitive races of the American continent, is quite capable in the present of producing men of high intellect and of culture wholly fitted to take their stand beside the men of science, culture and learning of the other nations of the world. May I be permitted to name Dr. Pablo Patron, recently deceased, who occupied a special place among Latin-American scientists. His great work, "New Studies on the American Languages," published in Spanish and French by Brockhaus, Leipzig, Germany, is a monument in itself and is considered as the greatest contribution to the knowledge of the American races.

Dr. Patron's untimely death before the completion of his work has been a severe blow to Peru and to the scientific world, but, from his many manuscripts, the Lima Geographical Society is gathering sufficient data to continue the publication of his writings. In the work mentioned the learned doctor proposes to prove the "Sumero-Assyrian origin of the Quichua and Aymara

languages spoken by the aborigines of Peru at the time of the Spanish conquest."

Manuel Gonzalez la Rosa, historian and researcher of great patience, has given a good part of his life to a thorough investigation of the discovery of America and the early life of Christopher Columbus, beside innumerable studies on Peru.

Enrique Torres Saldamando has left a most valuable legacy to the history of Peru in his manuscripts on "The ancient Jesuits of Peru."

Felix Cipriano Coronel Zegarra, at one time minister of Peru to this country, and the personal friend of James G. Blaine, has contributed to the history of Peru a most complete study on the life of that holy maiden known to history as St. Rose of Lima, to-day the patroness of all the Americas. At his premature death he, too, left invaluable manuscripts on Peruvian bibliography which the National Library of Lima now possesses.

Dr. José Toribio Polo has contributed many notable works of research, and his ecclesiastical bibliography of Peru is a most important addition to his other studies.

Domingo Angulo, Annibal Galvez, Francisco Garcia Calderón, Mariano Felipe Paz Soldan, José Barranca, Manuel de Mendiburu, Leonardo Villar, Modesto Basadre, Casimiro Ulloa, the Benjamin Cisneros, Larrabure y Unanue, Manuel Atanasio Fuentes, Alejandro Garland, Gutierrez de Quintarulla, Ricardo Palma, Carlos Prince, Carlos B. Cisneros, N. Vargas, Fernandez Nodal, Padre Angulo, Carlos Wiese, Victor Maurtua, Coronel Odriozola, Carlos Paz Soldan, are names of eminent Peruvian writers who have given attention to research, science and history.

Among the younger generation of present day writers such names as José de la Riva Agüero, Clemente Palma, Carlos A. Romero, Juan Bautista Lavalle, Jorje Corbacho, Luis Ulloa, Luis Varela Orbegoso, Victor Belaunder, Annibal Galvez, Luis and Oscar Miro Quezada are already acknowledged writers of repute and distinguished students of history.

Of these Jorje M. Corbacho is best known as an antiquary. His private collection of books and manuscripts is the largest individual collection in Peru. It contains many thousands of very important documents which he is very accurately cataloguing and classifying, while at the same time preparing important data for biographies and histories of Incaic, colonial and independent Peru. In connection with this work of research by Peruvians the Historical Institute, founded in 1905 by President José Pardo, has been of great material assistance. The Museum of National History, likewise created by President Pardo, as a dependency of the institute, is of great value. It is divided into three sections which comprise the three periods, Incaic, colonial and republican. The archaeology of the pre-Incaic and Incaic periods has been intrusted to the care of Prof. Max Uhle, a distinguished German scientist, who has done very good work in behalf of the Institute and to whose personal explorations Peru is indebted for much valuable information in reference to its primitive races. The museum is rich in specimens of utensils used by many of the savage Indian tribes which still inhabit the Amazonian watershed. But the most valuable and interesting specimens are found in the Incaic and colonial collections.

Dr. Mozans in his very interesting book "Along the Andes and down the Amazon" referring to our capital city, Lima, as a seat of learning and culture, says:—

"She has made notable advances in every branch of research and her learned societies, especially the Athenæum, the Historical Institute, and the Geographical Society, are doing work that is recognized the world over as of permanent value. Aside from her numerous educational institutions and learned societies, the best evidence of the new intellectual life that pervades the capital of Peru is seen in her splendid National Museum and in the National Public Library."

This noted traveler and writer expresses himself with enthusiasm of our young museum, and sees in it the

possibilities for a wonderful future; to quote him:—

“Here is the beginning of an American Bulak, a museum that will do for the history of Incaic and pre-Incaic Peru what the museum in Cairo has accomplished for the history of the Egypt of the sphinx and pyramid builders.”

The National Public Library of Lima, which owes its restoration to that eminent Peruvian writer, Ricardo Palma, contains some 44,000 volumes, many among which are of great value. The destruction of this library at the time of the military occupation of Lima by the Chilian forces in 1881 deprived the world of many manuscripts and books which dated back to the first days of the conquest.

Speaking of Ricardo Palma, brings to mind his works, which are of a nature to interest a gathering such as this one I am addressing. “The Peruvian Traditions,” of which he has published several volumes, are a collection of anecdotes and curiosities bearing on the happenings in the colonial days of Peru and during the early revolutionary period. Witty, clever, pregnant with local color, they have been translated into many tongues, but their principal charm lies in the beautiful language in which they were written. Ricardo Palma has contributed in these volumes a wealth of information and of interesting data for which the writers of the future will most assuredly feel very grateful.

In one of these volumes he makes reference to a book published in Lima in 1640 by one Juan de Figueroa, an officer of the inquisition, and treasurer of the mint. It contains 700 pages in four octavo. Its title is “Astrology in Medicine,” and it is dedicated to the viceroy of Peru. According to Figueroa, the ills of mankind are due to planetary influences, and in the 700 pages of his ponderous work he takes great pains to prove his case. The book is pregnant with the superstitious beliefs of the period and is replete with most extraordinary statements—for instance, the taking of medicine while the sun and the moon are in conjunction will produce

epilepsy. It contains fixed rules for each month, for the cutting of the hair, trimming of nails and every kind of ablutions.

According to Palma, these beliefs had so great a hold on the people that it took years to eradicate them. He cites that a Dr. Navarro having tried to prove that Figueroa's writings were absurd, published in 1648 a pamphlet entitled "Astronomical Dissertations," in which he tells this anecdote:—

"A certain high personage becoming ill, called Dr. Navarro, who immediately prescribed for him. Upon which the apothecary consulting his astrology, refused to make up the prescription, and wrote to the patient as follows:—

"Dear sir: Your honor must not follow the opinion of this doctor, even though he order you, because to-morrow at 5 o'clock the conjunction takes place. If it were in the evening your honor would not be taking so great a risk. Beside, to-day I have not made up any prescriptions whatsoever, neither could I until after the conjunction should have passed off. Your honor see what suits it best, that as for me I am solely actuated by my conscience. May the Lord guard over your honor."

The sequel to this is even more amusing. When the patient appealed to other apothecaries they sided with their colleague, and the infuriated doctor applied to the medical board, but so great was the power of ignorance and superstition at the time that the medical board, afraid of offending the masses in their pet theories and beliefs, declared itself without jurisdiction to decide so weighty a question, and sent it to Madrid, where it still slumbers awaiting judgment.

The foregoing shows that Spanish America has done in the past some work on a line with your own here, and in the present is taking an ever keener interest in matters of learning and of investigation than is generally conceded.

In closing these remarks I should like to mention that which, in my opinion, has been the starting point for a

better understanding between the people of this country and our Spanish-American people, and with your kind indulgence I shall endeavor to tell you of this.

But a very few years ago not one in a hundred of thinking men in the United States would have given any time to consider the possibilities of Spanish America. It has been necessary for a statesman of the caliber of Elihu Root to make an official visit to some of our countries to bring about the awakening of the people of this country to the great possibilities of the southern hemisphere of our continent, and to give them a desire to learn something about those countries and their peoples, something more than the somewhat hazy conceptions heretofore accepted by this public at large.

As a sequence to this visit of one of your foremost statesmen, newspapers and magazines which until then had ignored our lands or dealt with them unjustly, began to speak of Latin-American development and of the possibilities there. That visit brought our countries before the public eye and created a longing to learn more about them.

Professors from your universities next turned their attention in our direction and traveled to our shores: Rowe, Shepherd, Coolidge, Reinsch, Bingham and others came to us. They came into direct contact with the thinking men of the Latin countries; they became acquainted with one another; they exchanged views, and as the result of this a new sentiment sprang up between them, born of a better knowledge of each other.

Heretofore, we had met only the American trader and promoter, the business man, perhaps the adventurer of the get-rich-quick order, so naturally the learned professors were a revelation to us, their manners, their speech, the ideas and ideals which they expounded and proclaimed, were more in accordance with our own manner of thinking; these men were different from the majority of those whom we had known as Yankees.

These did not come for commercial purposes, but for study. They came to learn something of the people

they knew very little of. This created a bond between the visitor and the visited. It helped each to discover unknown, unsuspected traits in the other. The professors discovered in us traits of character which had never been mentioned in the North when reference was made to us, while we discovered in the professors certain qualities which the southern peoples supposed not to exist in you. Latin America had universities, seats of learning, centers of thought, men of advanced ideas, men eager to learn and to study.

Following upon these visits came the famous voyage of the Atlantic fleet, that triumphal parade of American power over the waters which bathe the two Americas. The stars and stripes were saluted by us with unequivocal friendliness, and a most hearty welcome was given to the officers and the men of the mighty fleet. The ships brought a message of peace, and they came to their friends. On the return of the fleet to its home waters, some 20,000 Americans brought to their homes and friends a story of Latin-American hospitality and Latin-American possibilities.

Once more the magazines and periodicals reviewing and recording the details of the magnificent cruise brought out the fact that the Spanish-American countries had vied with each other in demonstrations of friendliness toward the flag. The American awakening to a truer knowledge and appreciation of Spanish America received new impetus. The sentiment for closer relations and better intercourse was making progress, a new thought was born, the desire to learn more about the great neglected republics of the southern hemisphere. Publications which only a year before would have been regarded as impossible and impractical ventures, now found ready subscribers and purchasers, while the older periodicals actually began to devote space and time to Spanish-American topics.

The Bureau of American Republics, which until then had many vicissitudes, suddenly became a center of activity and started to get "real busy." An enthusiast,

a believer in Latin-America, a friend had been placed at the head of the bureau; his work made itself felt from the first. John Barrett, little by little, inch by inch, foot by foot, pushed it along to the point of unquestionable success which it has achieved to-day.

A wave of Pan-Americanism such as the great James G. Blaine would have loved to see, struck the continent. The bureau, his own conception, now the Pan-American Union, became the recognized medium for international knowledge and amity.

The Panama canal now nearing completion will be the crowning edifice, of which the cornerstone was the visit of Secretary Root. The great engineering undertakings will bring many of our countries into closer contact with yours and as the waters of our oceans approach each other and intermingle in the works built by men to serve the ends of commerce, trade and peace, may our mutual knowledge of each other overlap and combine in one sentiment of unreserved trust and respect from the North to the South and back again from South to North of our American world.

And now, Mr. President of the American Antiquarian Society, allow me to thank you, and through you, the members of the Society, for the honor which has been done me, this day, in electing me to membership in the Society; and likewise to thank you most cordially for the attention which you have given me on this occasion.

Mr. LINCOLN, in introducing Mr. Charles Francis Adams, said:

The oldest historical society in the United States is now well advanced in its second century, being twenty years older than the American Antiquarian Society and a model to all like societies for strength and vigor. Only last week I attended its monthly meeting and found over forty present out of an active membership of one hundred. All honor to this Nestor of American historical societies and may it long enjoy the guiding hand of our associate, who needs no introduction to

you, upon whom I have the honor to call for congratulation, sympathy and advice.

REMARKS BY CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Introduced as President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, I stand here not in a personal capacity, but as such; and as such I shall endeavor to deliver my message briefly; for to-day you have already listened to much and excellent discourse. Others, I also bear in mind, are to follow me.

Above all this is Isaiah Thomas's day; for on the 16th of October, 1812—a full century back—Isaiah Thomas was meditating his memorial and monument,—the Association which causes him to be still freshly borne in mind. Isaiah Thomas has, however, been most fitly referred to already both by Mr. Washburn and Mr. Lincoln, and further recognition of him and his work by me would manifestly be in excess. I could but repeat what has been both sufficiently said, and probably better said. Passing by Isaiah Thomas, therefore, and coming directly to the Massachusetts Historical Society, I first want to call attention to the curious evidence of connection between the two organizations. It is part of the record. Isaiah Thomas did not become a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society until April 25, 1811, and it was nineteen months later that the first meeting of the American Antiquarian Society was held at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston. Thomas's design apparently was to supply that wherein the earlier organization was defective. For instance, as its name implied, the Historical Society was essentially a Massachusetts institution; and as respects membership, it was limited by charter restriction to sixty persons. These, it was construed, were to be inhabitants of the Commonwealth. The Antiquarian Society was, on the contrary, organized on a wider basis; it was to be a society "not confined to local purposes—not intended for the particular advantage of any one State or section of

the Union, or for the benefit of a few individuals—one whose members may be found in every part of our western continent and its adjacent islands, and who are citizens of all parts of this quarter of the world.” While at the outset it was admitted that the Historical Society had led the way in the encouragement of a taste for antiquarian research, and in supplying means for its gratification, it was yet suggested that ample room remained for one more organization of similar nature, “which could also be truly beneficial, not only to the present but to future generations.” Of the earlier Society it was, however, admitted in terms quite as generous as the facts then or now would justify that “the liberal arrangements of its library cannot but be beneficial to those who happily reside in its vicinity, while its publications have been uninterrupted, interesting and satisfactory.” None the less, it was, however, advanced as an indisputable proposition that, as a place of deposit for articles intended to be preserved for ages, an inland situation was to be preferred to seaports like Boston, “exposed in times of war to the ravages of an enemy.”

How very suggestive is that last consideration! When a century ago Isaiah Thomas called together a few sympathizing spirits in the Exchange Coffee House at Boston to organize the American Antiquarian Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society had been in existence for one and twenty years. Having attained its majority, what a period in world history its minority had witnessed!

On an occasion like the present,—the celebration of a Centennial, and especially the Centennial of such a Society as this,—those taking part therein cannot fail to revert in thought to the condition of affairs, the men who lived and the events which occurred, at the earlier time. It is in that connection that the consideration just referred to is suggestive. When Isaiah Thomas and his little company of associates,—among whom were, beside himself, at least three prominent members of the older Society,—met in the Exchange Coffee House of

the metropolis of that very provincial New England, the curtain was about to fall on as extraordinary and memorable a drama as the world had then seen, or is likely again to see. For, on the 16th of October, 1812, the Emperor Napoleon was in Moscow intently working out his last desperate gambler's cast, whereby he hoped to redeem his rapidly sinking fortunes. Every attempt either to extort or to coax a peace from the Czar having failed, Napoleon was vainly projecting a military dash on St. Petersburg. A scheme of desperation, it was abandoned as soon almost as conceived; and three days later the orders of withdrawal were issued. So, exactly one hundred years ago, the curtain rose on what may not unfairly be termed the greatest and most terrible tragedy in recorded history.

But, whether by land or on the sea, the world then rang with battle; and, while Napoleon in the heart of Russia was vainly meditating schemes of extrication from the impossible position in which he had got himself, Wellington in the north of Spain was besieging Burgos after his great victory at Salamanca. And we also were contributing in our way to the tumult; for at noon of the 18th of that same October the *Wasp* and the *Frolic* were savagely fighting it to a finish in mid-Atlantic. Two months earlier Isaac Hull in the frigate *Constitution* had startled the world and made our country a Power by destroying almost by one broadside the frigate *Guérrière*; and Decatur in the *United States* captured the *Macedonian* nine days later. On the first day of the following June, at the entrance to Boston Bay the flag of the frigate *Chesapeake* was struck to the *Shannon*.

It was on the 24th of January, 1791, that the Historical Society was organized; the 16th of October, 1812, was the natal day of the Antiquarian Society. Twenty-one years only elapsed between the two occurrences; but into those years centuries seem crowded. For it was in July of the earlier year that the French Revolution assumed its malignant aspect, after the arrest of the Royal family on its flight, at Varennes; and, there-

after, memorable events crowd hard on each other. Two years later came the Terror, and the beheading of King and Queen. Then, in 1796, Napoleon flashed on the astonished world in his Italian campaign. 1798 saw him in Egypt. 1800 witnessed Marengo. In 1804 the Empire was proclaimed. In 1805 and 1806 Austerlitz and Jena made France supreme in continental Europe, as Trafalgar at the same time gave England the Ocean. Wagram followed in 1809; and, in 1812,—a century ago—the Emperor invaded Russia. The battle of Borodino was fought in September; and on the fourteenth of the month Napoleon entered Moscow. On the 19th of October,—a hundred years ago next Saturday—the retreat therefrom began. The most spectacular world-drama ever staged was drawing to a close; the first scene of the closing act opened.

The Scotch adage ran—"It is a far cry to Lochow!" So now it doubtless seems a yet farther cry from the Worcester of 1812 to the Moscow of Alexander the First—from Isaiah Thomas to Napoleon Bonaparte; and yet the connection as it exists in my mind now and here, is not remote,—on the contrary it is very close. President Taft in the course of the remarks with which he has just favored us referred to the correct presentation of local and temporary conditions as a function of Societies such as this; and Mr. Bryce has alluded to the value of contemporary correspondence as evidence of conditions once prevailing. Mr. Lincoln has further alluded to the fact that your Society numbers in the membership eight Presidents of the United States. It so chances that from two of these eight I am descended. There is next I submit a manifest propriety in the contribution by the Massachusetts Historical Society on this natal occasion of something strongly reminiscent of the earlier period. It so chances that I, here and now representative of the sister Society, am able so to do.

As may be not unknown to some here, and as history records, at just this period in 1812 John Quincy Adams represented the United States at the court of the Czar

Alexander. He had been then in St. Petersburg three years. As also is not unknown, the relations existing between John Quincy Adams and his parents were peculiarly close. In those days and at that particular period correspondence was slow. Months would elapse before a letter written at Quincy would reach St. Petersburg, or any missive from St. Petersburg could work its devious way to Boston. There were no established mail routes. None the less, the exchange of letters between John Quincy Adams in St. Petersburg and his father and mother in the quiet Massachusetts town of Quincy, was constant, as the originals of those letters now bear witness. In the possession of descendants, they have never been published; and extracts from them shall constitute the Centennial contribution of the Massachusetts Historical Society to the American Antiquarian Society,—a contribution through my agency.

As I have just said, those letters, on paper yellowing with age, fill volumes. A few extracts from them I hold in my hand. Were I to make of them a portion of my present remarks, while doubtless they would to the listeners not be without interest, so doing would occupy as many hours as minutes are allotted me. Nevertheless, these extracts are from letters not one of which fails to deal with events still memorable and names carved deep in history. So, while they do not directly relate to the American Antiquarian Society and contain no allusion to Isaiah Thomas, I hold them to be germane to this Centennial occasion. They cover the period between the breaking out of our war of 1812 in June of that year, almost contemporaneously with the movement of Napoleon and his Grand Army across the Russian frontier, and continue to the tragic close in the following December.

But, having already more than occupied the time on this occasion properly mine, I now submit these extracts from a correspondence become historic, and, for the rest, respectfully ask leave to be allowed to print.¹

¹ An extract from this correspondence will be published in the next issue of the Proceedings.

Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker was then introduced by the toastmaster in the following words:

"One of the objects of this Society, was to encourage the formation of state and local historical societies throughout the Union. Whether as a result of the Society's action or not, after its firm establishment the number of local societies increased rapidly. Especially was this the case after 1850, and now nearly every state in the Union has a strong, active society, and the number of town societies is very large. One of the earliest of these state societies was the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, founded in 1825, and now the largest and one of the most prosperous of them all. It is represented here by a gentlemen who is also a delegate from the University of Pennsylvania, one of the oldest and largest of American universities, institutions with which the American Antiquarian Society is proud to be allied. I have the honor of presenting Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania."

REMARKS BY SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

I came here from the Quaker Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, which I am ready to concede is not now so Quakerish and prim as it was a century ago. Should I want to descant upon the subject of the descendants of the Pilgrims, who landed at Plymouth, or of the Puritans who settled at Worcester, and reach my conclusions from the profusion of this dinner, and the clanking of glasses about the table, I should be inclined to say that they were on that broad path which leads to Louisville in the State of Kentucky, and in the condition which finds its ultimate expression in that Western State. There was a citizen of Kentucky who had failed to pay the bill for his water rent, and thereupon the city cut off his supply. He did not discover the fact for three months. A number of those who have spoken to you here to-night, including the President of the United

States and myself, have been lawyers. A magistrate was once about to examine a witness and made the preliminary inquiry "What is your business?" The witness with some dignity of manner responded, "My profession is that of a lawyer." "Well," replied the magistrate, "try to forget the fact while you are on the witness stand."

The world has ever needed, and never more than to-day, when all kinds of extravagant fancies prevent sober thought, to be taught the lessons of a safe and healthy conservatism. Throughout all nature, including men and human relations and institutions, there is ever a strong presumption in favor of things as they exist. The very fact that they exist is a proof that they comply with the conditions that surround them. We recognize that the speed of Senator Lodge's horse, about which he told us this afternoon, was due to the fact that his equine ancestors galloped over the steppes of Asia, with the red wolf in pursuit. When I pick up this napkin, I find in it the evidences of the labors of the men who plowed the soil and raised the flax, and broke the fibre to get the thread, and of the women whose deft fingers wrought through the ages to make it the artistic creation which we find it to be. It is here only because long experience has shown it to fill a need. All life teaches us the wisdom of the legal maxim—*stare decisis*—to stand by the principles which have been determined.

There is another conservative thought which ought to be more generally appreciated. All of the virtues start at the home. Everything which is worth while on earth begins at the hearthstone. We are too prone to think that beyond the mountains, and over the seas live the heroes. It is all a delusion. Thence come the pigmies and the heathen and the barbarians. That which is really good comes out of the Nazareth in which we live. The plant for which botanists are searching the world, whose active principle is a specific for cancer, as cinchona is a specific for malaria, may be growing yonder along the banks of the Blackstone and you have never known

its virtues. A youth started out in 1861 to bear his part in the war of the rebellion. He knew so little of warfare that he declined the lieutenancy of his company, fearing the responsibility, and he enlisted as a private. At the end of four years at the age of twenty-two, he returned a Brigadier General, a Brevet Major General, the youngest man who had ever held such high rank since the organization of the government. He had led the victorious assault upon Fort Fisher. He had been wounded seven times in eight months. He had been shot through the body holding the flag after the color bearer had been killed. Neither Greece nor Rome nor Holland can point to a career more heroic. And yet he grew to young manhood in the country village along the Schuylkill River, where I was born.

If I correctly understand the purposes of the American Antiquarian Society, it is to teach such lessons as these—to gather the records of those around and about us who have done brave deeds and performed worthy tasks, and to preserve and cherish them lest they fall into forgetfulness.

I am here to-night at the behest of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, founded in 1824, and one of the oldest in the Country. It has an entirely fireproof building, four stories in height, in the centre of the city of Philadelphia, erected at a cost of about \$300,000. In this building are treasured books, pamphlets and manuscripts valued at about \$3,000,000. The Society owns the original papers of William Penn, Anthony Wayne, Benjamin West, Andrew A. Humphreys, Salmon P. Chase, and those of most of the distinguished families of the State. It has the hat of Daniel Webster, and the sword of George Gordon Meade. It has more of the imprints of Benjamin Franklin than can be found anywhere else in the world. It has more of the printed volumes of the Colonial laws of Massachusetts than can be found in Worcester or Boston. It is a pleasure to observe that its second president, Peter S. DuPonceau, was in 1819 a member of the American Antiquarian

Society, and an additional pleasure to be able to report that its present president has had to-day conferred upon him the same high honor.

I am here likewise to represent the University of Pennsylvania, established in 1740, which down to the time of the Revolutionary war was the leading institution of learning in the American Colonies. It created, in 1765, the earliest medical school in America under charge of Dr. John Morgan, and in 1791, the earliest law school in America, at which James Wilson, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, delivered a course of lectures. It has now enrolled a body of students to the number of over fifty-two hundred, a larger colony than that which the Greeks sent to Sicily, and they represent more foreign countries than do the students of any other University or College in the United States.

I am here with you to represent something else. I am, in a sense, an antiquarian society myself. I live in a house built in 1720, and which has belonged to my family for one hundred and sixty-five years. The first child born in it was murdered and scalped by the Indians, and the second became a Colonel in the Revolutionary War, and was one of the founders of the Society of the Cincinnati. It is the only headquarters of Washington in the country, remaining in the name of the family which owned it at the time of the Revolution. At the head of the dining room table stands the chair hewn out of walnut, which belonged to the founder of the family. At the head of the sitting room table stands the chair carved out of oak, which belonged to Mordecai Lincoln, the great, great grandfather of Abraham Lincoln, and one of a race distinguished alike, in the history of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Illinois.

The healthful and conservative principles inculcated by the American Antiquarian Society, and the organizations devoted to like pursuits, and which I have endeavored to support, find a fitting representative in the distinguished guest who has done you and all of us the

honor to take part in this dinner. The present President of the United States in the conduct of his high office, has caught the inspiration which comes from the example of the Fathers and has striven to support the institutions and form of Government they established, and to maintain the Constitution they framed. He has, moreover, not forgotten those proprieties of utterance and demeanor which comport with the dignity of his station among men. He has fallen upon evil times. May the Lord protect and sustain him, and may the satisfaction which ever attends the conscientious performance of an important task ever attend him.

The last speaker of the evening, Professor William A. Dunning, was thus introduced by Mr. LINCOLN:

One of the useful institutions of the country, doing excellent work in every line of historical investigation and criticism, is the American Historical Association, composed of nearly 3,000 earnest seekers for the truth. Many of this company are members of that association and its high officials should need no introduction in this assembly. It is a pleasure to invite you to listen to the most recently elected member of the American Antiquarian Society in the person of Professor William Archibald Dunning, vice-president of the American Historical Association.

REMARKS BY WILLIAM A. DUNNING.

It is a sound and accepted principle of jurisprudence that a cat can look at a king. This, I suppose, is the principle in accordance with which the American Historical Association is privileged on this auspicious occasion to tender its felicitations to the American Antiquarian Society. For the American Historical Association is but a callow, immature, young thing, whose uneventful life has known but twenty-eight brief summers; and it can regard only with awe and veneration an institution that has reached the century mark with honor

and renown. Nor do the awe and veneration diminish, when other aspects than mere age are taken into account. A treasury that unblushingly records assets of half a million, a library that leads all the libraries of the world in some material that is indispensable to historians, and a home building that splendidly combines the highest degree of taste and utility,—these are things that give a deep sincerity to the humility and the congratulations of the American Historical Association, which can boast of neither assets nor library, nor home.

When it comes to the merely human element, we of the Historical Association can take heart of grace and feel that we have some relation, at least, to this greatness and prosperity that are not ours. Your membership list, Mr. President, presents a remarkably large percentage of names that have been most conspicuous in the life and activity of our association. Indeed, I have felt at times a bit confused and uncertain as to whether I was dealing with the Society or the Association, as I have noted a large majority of the men who give distinction to our executive council, figuring prominently as antiquarians.

My feelings have been as mixed—though not for the same reason—as those of a fellow citizen whom I met on the street one evening. He had evidently been dining, and he looked sadly puzzled and dejected. Stopping me, he inquired, thickly but with great earnestness: “Where ish th’ other side of shtreet?” “Over there,” I replied, “where you see that man standing.” The face of the exhilarated one brightened and became suffused with satisfaction. “Thash what I thought,” he said; “I wen’ an’ asked that man where th’ other side of shtreet was an’ he said wash over there. Guess he mus’ be ’ntoxicated.”

When one sees an organization whose small membership includes thirteen former presidents and over thirty members, past and present, of the governing body of the American Historical Association, no presumption of vinous exhilaration is necessary to explain an uncertainty

as to whether he is on this side of the way or the other—whether he is with the historians or the antiquarians.

As to the fundamental cause that accounts for this identity of personnel in the two organizations, I do not pretend to know whether the antiquarians have systematically taken in the historians, or the historians have systematically taken in the antiquarians. In either case, the general result is the same; that is to say, there has been and is a wholesome and effective coöperation in the promotion of a common end—the diffusion of a knowledge of the past. Nowhere in the world has the work of the Antiquarian Society been so deeply appreciated as in the ranks of the Historical Association, where the men who are laboring at once to discover and clarify historical truth and to train up a generation to perpetuate it, have always found indispensable aid in the collections of the Society.

Worcester is not, it is true, situated at the precise geographical center of the United States, and a more or less plausible argument might be made for the proposition that the Society's noble library would be more accessible if situated in the vicinity of Kansas City. The fallacy in this reasoning has been demonstrated in recurring debates in the Historical Association, wherein it has been proved that the center of historical interest in the United States—that is, the center of interest in history—is in the neighborhood of Buffalo; so that Worcester is but a few paltry hundreds of miles from the point of maximum ideal usefulness in the United States; and as to the world at large, which is the professed measure of the Society's interest, everyone knows that Worcester is as near the center of the earth as any place that may be mentioned in polite society, and is indeed, within respectful distance of the very hub of the universe.

There is, then, no ground on which the preëminent usefulness of this Society can be for a moment called into question; and there is no place in the world where there is less disposition to call it in question than in the ranks of the American Historical Association. We rejoice

with exceeding joy, that you are one hundred years old, and we pray with the fervent, earnest prayer of the righteous man, that you may continue to prosper in your good works, until you are one thousand. And when your friends and admirers are summoned to greet you at your millennial celebration, be assured that none will greet you with more heartfelt joy than the representatives of the American Historical Association.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY
1812-1912

OFFICERS

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,

1812-1912

Presidents.

NAME.	RESIDENCE.	IN OFFICE.
ISAAH THOMAS,	Worcester, Mass.,	1812—1831.
THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP,	Boston, Mass.,	1831—1841.
EDWARD EVERETT,	" "	1841—1853.
JOHN DAVIS,	Worcester, Mass.,	1853—1854.
STEPHEN SALISBURY,	" "	1854—1884.
GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR,	" "	1884—1887.
STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr.,	" "	1887—1905.
EDWARD EVERETT HALE,	Boston, Mass.,	1906—1907.
WALDO LINCOLN,	Worcester, Mass.,	1907—

Vice-Presidents.

WILLIAM DANDRIDGE PECK,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1812—1816.
WILLIAM PAINE,	Worcester, Mass.,	1813—1816.
AARON BANCROFT,	" "	1816—1831.
TIMOTHY BIGELOW,	Medford, Mass.,	1816—1821.
DEWITT CLINTON,	Albany, N. Y.,	1821—1828.
THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP,	Boston, Mass.,	1828—1831.
JOHN DAVIS,	Worcester, Mass.,	1831—1853.
JOSEPH STORY,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1831—1845.
WILLIAM BUELL SPRAGUE,	Albany, N. Y.,	1846—1853.
WILLIAM JENKS,	Boston, Mass.,	1853—1866.
STEPHEN SALISBURY,	Worcester, Mass.,	1853—1854.
LEVI LINCOLN,	" "	1854—1868.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN THOMAS,	Boston, Mass.,	1867—1878.
JAMES LENOX,	New York, N. Y.,	1868—1880.
GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR,	Worcester, Mass.,	1878—1884.
GEORGE BANCROFT,	Washington, D. C.,	1880—1891.
STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr.,	Worcester, Mass.,	1884—1887.

GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR,	Worcester, Mass.,	1887—1904.
EDWARD EVERETT HALE,	Boston, Mass.,	{ 1891—1906.
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN,	“ “	{ 1907—1909.
WALDO LINCOLN,	Worcester, Mass.,	1904—
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1906—1907.
		1909—

*Councillors.**

TIMOTHY BIGELOW,	Medford, Mass.,	1813—1816.
AARON BANCROFT,	Worcester, Mass.,	1813—1816.
EDWARD BANGS,	“ “	1813—1817.
GEORGE GIBBS,	Boston, Mass.,	1813—1814.
WILLIAM BENTLEY,	Salem, Mass.,	1813—1819.
REDFORD WEBSTER,	Boston, Mass.,	1813—1816.
BENJAMIN RUSSELL,	Boston, Mass.,	1813—1845.
SAMUEL JACKSON PRESCOTT,	“ “	1814—1819.
WILLIAM STEDMAN,	Newburyport, Mass.,	1815—1816.
OLIVER FISKE,	Worcester, Mass.,	1815—1826.
NATHANIEL PAINE,	“ “	1815—1820.
GEORGE THACHER,	Biddeford, Me.,	1815—1819.
KILBORN WHITMAN,	Pembroke, Mass.,	1815—1820.
EDWARD HUTCHINSON ROBBINS,	Milton, Mass.,	1816—1830.
FRANCIS BLAKE,	Worcester, Mass.,	1816—1817.
JAMES WINTHROP,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1816—1821.
LEVI LINCOLN,	Worcester, Mass.,	1816—1817.
LEVI LINCOLN, JR.,	“ “	1817—1854.
ABIJAH BIGELOW,	“ “	1817—1828.
MARK LANGDON HILL,	Phippsburgh, Me.,	1819—1821.
WILLIAM JENKS,	Boston, Mass.,	1819—1831.
CHARLES LOWELL,	“ “	1820—1853.
SAMUEL JENNISON,	Worcester, Mass.,	{ 1820—1823.
		{ 1828—1829.
		{ 1845—1846.
EDWARD DILLINGHAM BANGS,	“ “	{ 1820—1824.
		{ 1831—1838.
JOSHUA THOMAS,	Plymouth, Mass.,	1820—1821.
THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP,	Boston, Mass.,	1821—1828.
SAMUEL MACGREGOR BURNSIDE,	Worcester, Mass.,	1823—1850.
JOHN DAVIS,	“ “	1824—1831.
ISAAC GOODWIN,	“ “	1826—1832.
JAMES CUSHING MERRILL,	Boston, Mass.,	1828—1852.
FREDERICK WILLIAM PAINE,	Worcester, Mass.,	1830—1853.
JAMES BOWDOIN,	Boston, Mass.,	1831—1833.

* The numerous councillors and receiving officers appointed by the sub-council from 1815 to 1826 are not included in this list.

JOHN GREEN,	Worcester, Mass.,	1831—1855.
JOHN PARK,	" "	1832—1842.
JOSEPH WILLARD,	Boston, Mass.,	1833—1853.
EMORY WASHBURN,	Worcester, Mass.,	1838—1856.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN THOMAS,	" "	1842—1843.
STEPHEN SALISBURY,	" "	1843—1853.
ALFRED DWIGHT FOSTER,	" "	1846—1852.
AC DAVIS,	" "	1850—1883.
EDWARD EVERETT HALE,	" "	{ 1852—1854. 1858—1891.
CHARLES SUMNER,	Boston, Mass.,	1852—1853.
GEORGE LIVERMORE,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1853—1865.
NATHANIEL BRADSTREET SHURTLEFF,	Boston, Mass.,	1853—1874.
CHARLES FOLSOM,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1853—1872.
IRA MOORE BARTON,	Worcester, Mass.,	1853—1867.
THOMAS KINNICUTT,	" "	1853—1858.
PLINY MERRICK,	" "	1854—1867.
JOHN PRESCOTT BIGELOW,	Boston, Mass.,	1854—1868.
SAMUEL FOSTER HAVEN,	Worcester, Mass.,	1855—1881.
DWIGHT FOSTER,	" "	{ 1856—1863. 1880—1884.
JOSEPH SARGENT,	" "	1863—1888.
CHARLES DEANE,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1865—1880.
SETH SWEETSER,	Worcester, Mass.,	1867—1878.
RICHARD FROTHINGHAM,	Charlestown, Mass.,	1867—1880.
HENRY CHAPIN,	Worcester, Mass.,	1868—1878.
J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL,	Hartford, Conn.,	1872—1874.
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN,	Boston, Mass.,	1874—1904.
STEPHEN SALISBURY, JR.,	Worcester, Mass.,	1874—1884.
PELEG EMORY ALDRICH,	" "	1878—1895.
EDWARD HENRY HALL,	" "	1878—1883.
EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH,	Andover, Mass.,	1880—1904.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON BULLOCK,	Worcester, Mass.,	1881—1882.
WILLIAM REED HUNTINGTON,	" "	1882—1884.
SAMUEL SWETT GREEN,	" "	1883—
ANDREW PRESTON PEABODY,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1884—1893.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE,	Worcester, Mass.,	{ 1884—1894. 1906—1911.
EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS,	" "	1884—1912.
FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER,	New Haven, Ct.,	1885—1897.
JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE,	Worcester, Mass.,	1888—1902.
GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL,	" "	1891—
WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN,	Providence, R. I.,	1893—1912.
JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN,	Worcester, Mass.,	1894—1903.
THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL,	" "	1895—1901.
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER,	Portland, Me.,	1897—1912.
HENRY STEDMAN NOURSE,	Lancaster, Mass.,	1901—1903.

CARROLL DAVIDSON WRIGHT,	Worcester, Mass.,	1903—1909.
EDMUND ARTHUR ENGLER,	“ “	1903—1911.
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1904—1906.
ELIAS HARLOW RUSSELL,	Worcester, Mass.,	1904—1909.
SAMUEL UTLEY,	“ “	1904—
NATHANIEL PAINE,	“ “	1907—
ARTHUR PRENTICE RUGG,	“ “	1909
CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN,	“ “	19—
CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS,	“ “	19—
FRANCIS HENSHAW DEWEY,	“ “	19—
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM,	Boston, Mass.,	19—
CLARENCE WINTHROP BOWEN,	New York, N	19—

Corresponding Secretaries.

THADDEUS MASON HARRIS,	Dorchester, Mass.,	1812—1831.
WILLIAM JENKS,	Boston, Mass.	1813—1816.
SAMUEL MACGREGOR BURNSIDE,	Worcester, Mass.,	1814—1823.
ABIEL HOLMES,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1816—1828.
SAMUEL JENNISON,	Worcester, Mass.,	{ 1820—1820.
		{ 1823—1826.
WILLIAM LINCOLN,	“ “	1826—1831.

Secretaries for Domestic Correspondence.

WILLIAM LINCOLN,	Worcester, Mass.,	1831—1841.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN THOMAS,	“ “	1841—1867.
EMORY WASHBURN,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1867—1877.
GEORGE BANCROFT,	Washington, D. C.,	1877—1880.
CHARLES DEANE,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1880—1889.
GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS,	Charlestown, Mass.,	1890—1894.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS,	Quincy, Mass.,	1895—

Secretaries for Foreign Correspondence.

THADDEUS MASON HARRIS,	Boston, Mass.,	1831—1832.
EDWARD EVERETT,	“ “	1832—1841.
JOHN PICKERING,	“ “	1840—1846.
JARED SPARKS,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1846—1866.
EMORY WASHBURN,	“ “	1866—1867.
CHARLES SUMNER,	Boston, Mass.,	1867—1874.
J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL,	Hartford, Conn.,	1874—1897.
FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER,	New Haven, Ct.,	1897—1912.
JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER,	Portland, Me.,	1912—

Recording Secretaries.

SAMUEL MACGREGOR BURNSIDE,	Worcester, Mass.,	1812—1814.
OLIVER FISKE,	“ “	1814—1815.
REJOICE NEWTON,	“ “	1815—1854.

EDWARD EVERETT HALE,	Worcester, Mass.,	1854—1858.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON BULLOCK,	“ “	1858—1861.
EDWARD MELLEN,	“ “	1861—1865.
ALONZO HILL,	“ “	1865—1871.
JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN,	“ “	1871—1894.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE,	“ “	1894—1906.
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1906—1909.
GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP,	Providence, R. I.,	1909— .

Assistant Recording Secretaries.

EBENEZER TURELL ANDREWS,	Boston, Mass.,	1813—1813.
JOHN LATHROP, Jr.,	“ “	1813—1815.
NATHANIEL GREENWOOD SNELLING,	“ “	1815—1818.
JAMES CUSHING MERRILL,	“ “	1818—1823.
JAMES BOWDOIN,	“ “	1823—1831.

Treasurers.

LEVI LINCOLN, Jr.,	Worcester, Mass.,	1813—1813.
ISAIAH THOMAS, Jr.,	Boston, Mass.,	1813—1819.
NATHANIEL MACCARTY,	Worcester, Mass.,	1819—1829.
SAMUEL JENNISON,	“ “	{ 1829—1843.
		{ 1846—1860.
ALFRED DWIGHT FOSTER,	“ “	1843—1846.
HENRY CHAPIN,	“ “	1860—1863.
NATHANIEL PAINE,	“ “	1863—1907.
AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK,	“ “	1907— .

Assistant Treasurers.

ELISHA CLAP,	Boston, Mass.,	1823—1827.
EDWARD DILLINGHAM BANGS,	Worcester, Mass.,	1827—1831.

Auditors.

ISAAC DAVIS,	Worcester, Mass.,	1865—1880.
EBENEZER TORREY,	Fitchburg, Mass.,	1865—1880.
EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS,	Worcester, Mass.,	1880—1884.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE,	“ “	1880—1887.
WILLIAM ADDISON SMITH,	“ “	1884—1901.
REUBEN COLTON,	“ “	1887—1888.
AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK,	“ “	1888—1907.
BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL,	“ “	1901— .
HENRY ALEXANDER MARSH,	“ “	1907— .

Committee of Nominations.

ISAIAH THOMAS,	Worcester, Mass.,	1813—1831.
TIMOTHY BIGELOW,	Medford, Mass.,	1813—1820.

WILLIAM DANDRIDGE PECK,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1813—1817.
JOSIAH BARTLETT,	Charlestown, Mass.,	1815—1820.
JOHN PIERCE,	Brookline, Mass.,	1815—1820.
JAMES CUSHING MERRILL,	Boston, Mass.,	1817—1831.
CHARLES LOWELL,	" "	1819—1831.
WILLIAM JENKS,	" "	1819—1820.
FRANCIS PARKMAN,	" "	1820—1828.
AARON BANCROFT,	Worcester, Mass.,	1820—1831.
LEVI LINCOLN,	" "	1820—1831.

Committee of Publication.

AARON BANCROFT,	Worcester, Mass.,	1815—1831.
WILLIAM BENTLEY,	Salem, Mass.,	1815—1819.
WILLIAM PAINE,	Worcester, Mass.,	1815—1818.
WILLIAM JENKS,	Boston, Mass.,	1819—1833.
SAMUEL MACGREGOR BURNSIDE,	Worcester, Mass.,	1819—1831.
EDWARD DILLINGHAM BANGS,	" "	1819—1827.
SAMUEL JENNISON,	" "	1819—1831.
		1833—1834.
		1846—1849.
WILLIAM LINCOLN,	" "	1827—1835.
		1837—1843.
JOSEPH WILLARD,	Boston, Mass.,	1831—1833.
JOHN PARK,	Worcester, Mass.,	1832—1833.
		1835—1843.
ALFRED DWIGHT FOSTER,	" "	1832—1843.
GEORGE FOLSOM,	New York, N. Y.,	1834—1837.
CHARLES SUMNER,	Boston, Mass.,	1843—1845.
STEPHEN SALISBURY,	Worcester, Mass.,	1843—1846.
SAMUEL FOSTER HAVEN,	" "	1843—1881.
PELEG WHITMAN CHANDLER,	Boston, Mass.,	1845—1846.
JOSEPH BARLOW FELT,	" "	1846—1850.
EDWARD EVERETT HALE,	" "	1849—1907.
GEORGE LIVERMORE,	Cambridge, Mass.,	1850—1856.
CHARLES DEANE,	" "	1856—1889.
EDWARD HENRY HALL,	Worcester, Mass.,	1880—1883.
NATHANIEL PAINE,	" "	1880—1907.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE,	" "	1882—1906.
CHARLES CARD SMITH,	Boston, Mass.,	1890—1906.
FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE,	Worcester, Mass.,	1906— .
GEORGE HENRY HAYNES,	" "	1906— .
CALEB BENJAMIN TILLINGHAST,	Boston, Mass.,	1907—1909.
DELORAINE PENDRE COREY,	Malden, Mass.,	1907—1910.
CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS,	Worcester, Mass.,	1909— .
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE,	Boston, Mass.,	1910— .

Library Committee.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr.,	Worcester, Mass.,	1901—1905.
NATHANIEL PAINE,	" "	1901—
WALDO LINCOLN,	" "	1906—
FRANKLIN PIERCE RICE,	" "	1906—

Finance Committee.

STEPHEN SALISBURY, Jr.,	Worcester, Mass.,	1901—1905.
EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS,	" "	1901—1912.
CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE,	" "	1901—1906.
WALDO LINCOLN,	" "	1906—
FRANCIS HENSHAW DEWEY,	" "	1906—
CHARLES GRENFILL WASHBURN,	" "	1912—

Committee on the Hall.

WALDO LINCOLN,	Worcester, Mass.,	1907—
EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS,	" "	1907—1912.
SAMUEL UTLEY,	" "	1907—
CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS,	" "	1912—

Biographer.

JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE,	Worcester, Mass.,	1902—1902.
HENRY STEDMAN NOURSE,	Lancaster, Mass.,	1903—1903.
SAMUEL UTLEY,	Worcester, Mass.,	1904—

Librarians.

SAMUEL JENNISON,	Worcester, Mass.,	1814—1826.
WILLIAM LINCOLN,	" "	1826—1827.
CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS BALDWIN,	" "	{ 1827—1830.
		{ 1832—1835.
SAMUEL MACGREGOR BURNSIDE,	" "	1830—1831.
MATURIN LEWIS FISHER,	" "	1835—1838.
SAMUEL FOSTER HAVEN,	" "	1838—1881.
EDMUND MILLS BARTON,	" "	1883—1908.
CLARENCE SAUNDERS BRIGHAM,	" "	1908—

Librarian Emeritus.

EDMUND MILLS BARTON,	Worcester, Mass.,	1908—
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MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, 1812-1912

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
ABBOT, BENJAMIN	Exeter, N. H.	July 13, 1815	Oct. 25, 1849
ABBOT, JOHN LOVEJOY	Boston, Mass.	June 2, 1813	Oct. 14, 1814
ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS	Quincy, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1891	
ADAMS, CHARLES KENDALL	Ithaca, N. Y.	Oct. 21, 1887	July 26, 1902
ADAMS, EBENEZER	Hanover, N. H.	Oct. 23, 1813	Aug. 15, 1841
ADAMS, GEORGE BURTON	New Haven, Conn.	Apr. 26, 1899	
ADAMS, HENRY	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 21, 1884	
ADAMS, HERBERT BAXTER	Baltimore, Md.	Apr. 27, 1881	July 30, 1901
ADAMS, JOHN	Quincy, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	July 4, 1826
ADAMS, JOHN QUINCY	Quincy, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1839	Feb. 23, 1848
ADAMS, NATHANIEL	Portsmouth, N. H.	June 1, 1814	Aug. 5, 1829
ADAMS, SETH	Zanesville, Ohio	Apr. 15, 1818	Sept. 8, 1853
ALDEN, EBENEZER	Randolph, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1865	Jan. 26, 1881
ALDEN, ROGER	Meadville, Penn.	July 13, 1815	Nov. 5, 1836
ALDEN, TIMOTHY	Elizabethtown, N. J.	June 2, 1813	July 5, 1839
ALDRICH, PELEG EMORY	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1865	Mar. 14, 1895
ALLEN, BENJAMIN	Albany, N. Y.	Oct. 23, 1816	July 22, 1836
ALLEN, CHARLES	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1827	Aug. 6, 1869
ALLEN, GEORGE	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 22, 1860*	Mar. 31, 1883
ALLEN, JOSEPH	Northborough, Mass.	July 13, 1826	Feb. 23, 1873

* Declined.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
ALLEN, WILLIAM	Pittsfield, Mass.	June 1, 1814	July 16, 1868
ALLEN, WILLIAM FRANCIS	Madison, Wis.	Apr. 25, 1888	Dec. 9, 1889
ALVORD, CLARENCE WALWORTH	Urbana, Ill.	Apr. 10, 1912	
AMBROSETTI, JUAN B.	Buenos Aires, Argentina	Apr. 20, 1910	
AMES, ELLIS	Canton, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1854	Oct. 30, 1884
AMES, HERMAN VANDENBURG	Philadelphia, Penn.	Oct. 20, 1909	
AMMIDOWN, HOLMES	Southbridge, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1879	Apr. 3, 1883
AMORY, THOMAS COFFIN	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 28, 1858	Aug. 20, 1889
AMUNDSEN, ROALD	Christiania, Norway	Oct. 24, 1906	
ANCONA, ELIGIO	Mérida, Yucatan	Apr. 28, 1880	Apr. 3, 1893
ANDERSON, JOSEPH	Woodmont, Conn.	Apr. 29, 1885	
ANDERSON, MARTIN BREWER	Rochester, N. Y.	Apr. 27, 1864	Feb. 25, 1890
ANDERSON, ROBERT	Edinburgh, Scotland	Oct. 23, 1816	Mar. 20, 1830
ANDREWS, CHARLES McLEAN	Baltimore, Md.	Oct. 16, 1907	
ANDREWS, EBENEZER TURELL	Boston, Mass.	Incorporator	Oct. 9, 1851
ANDREWS, JOHN	Chillicothe, Ohio	Oct. 23, 1822	(date unknown)
ANDREWS, JOSIAH BISHOP	New York, N. Y.	Jan. 18, 1815	Apr. 26, 1853
ANGELL, JAMES BURRILL	Ann Arbor, Mich.	Oct. 21, 1890	
APPLETON, JESSE	Brunswick, Me.	Sept. 29, 1813	Nov. 12, 1819
APPLETON, NATHAN	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1854	July 14, 1861
ARGYROPOULOS, GEORGE	Athens, Greece	May 29, 1839	(date unknown)
ARNOLD, SAMUEL GREENE	Providence, R. I.	July 13, 1815	Feb. 19, 1826
ATHERTON, CHARLES HUMPHREY	Amherst, N. H.	July 13, 1815	Jan. 8, 1853
ATWATER, CALEB	Circleville, Ohio	Apr. 15, 1818	Mar. 13, 1867
ATWATER, JEREMIAH	Carlisle, Pa.	July 13, 1815	July 29, 1858
AVEZAC-MACAYA, MARIE-ARMAND-PASCAL D'	Paris, France	Apr. 28, 1869	Jan. 1875

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
AYER, EDWARD EVERETT	Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 20, 1909	
AYER, JAMES BOURNE	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1908	May 14, 1910*
AYMÉ, LOUIS HENRY	Mérida, Yucatan	Apr. 26, 1882	May 16, 1912
BACON, PETER CHILD	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 22, 1860	Feb. 7, 1886
BAILEY, JOHN	Canton, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1816	June 26, 1835
BAIRD, SPENCER FULLERTON	Washington, D. C.	Apr. 28, 1880	Aug. 19, 1887
BALCH, THOMAS WILLING	Philadelphia, Penn.	Apr. 12, 1911	
BALDWIN, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1827	Aug. 20, 1835
BALDWIN, JOHN DENISON	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1869	July 8, 1883
BALDWIN, LOAMMI	Cambridge, Mass.	June 1, 1814	June 30, 1838
BALDWIN, SIMEON EBEN	New Haven, Conn.	Oct. 21, 1893	
BALLIVIAN, MANUEL VICENTE	La Paz, Bolivia	Apr. 20, 1910	
BANCROFT, AARON	Worcester, Mass.	Incorporator	Aug. 19, 1839
BANCROFT, GEORGE	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 23, 1838	Jan. 17, 1891
BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE	San Francisco, Cal.	Apr. 28, 1875	
BANCROFT, JOHN CHANDLER	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1816	1821*
BANDELIER, ADOLPH FRANCIS	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 27, 1881	
BANGS, EDWARD	Worcester, Mass.	Incorporator	June 28, 1818
BANGS, EDWARD DILLINGHAM	Worcester, Mass.	Jan. 20, 1819	Apr. 1, 1838
BARDWELL, HORATIO	Oxford, Mass.	Apr. 30, 1862	May 5, 1866
BARLEE, FREDERICK PALGRAVE	British Honduras	Oct. 21, 1878	Aug. 7, 1884
BARRY, WILLIAM	Chicago, Ill.	Apr. 29, 1857	Jan. 17, 1885
BARTLETT, BAILEY	Haverhill, Mass.	Jan. 20, 1819	Sept. 9, 1830
BARTLETT, JOHN RUSSELL	Providence, R. I.	Apr. 30, 1856	May 28, 1886
BARTLETT, JOSIAH	Charlestown, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1813	Mar. 3, 1820

* Died at sea.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
BARTLETT, LEVI	Kingston, N. H.	July 13, 1815	Jan. 30, 1828
BARTON, BENJAMIN SMITH	Philadelphia, Penn.	June 1, 1814	Dec. 19, 1815
BARTON, EDMUND MILLS	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1878	
BARTON, IRA MOORE	Worcester, Mass.	May 26, 1841	July 18, 1867
BARTON, WILLIAM	Philadelphia, Penn.	June 1, 1814	July 22, 1823
BARTON, WILLIAM SUMNER	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1854	July 13, 1899
BASSETT, JOHN SPENCER	Northampton, Mass.	Apr. 12, 1911	
BATES, ALBERT CARLOS	Hartford, Conn.	Oct. 19, 1910	
BAXTER, JAMES PHINNEY	Portland, Me.	Apr. 27, 1887	
BAYARD, JAMES ASHETON	Wilmington, Del.	July 13, 1815	Aug. 6, 1815
BAYARD, THOMAS FRANCIS	Wilmington, Del.	Apr. 28, 1897	Sept. 28, 1898
BAYLIS, WILLIAM	Bridgewater, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Sept. 27, 1865
BECK, THEODRIC ROMEYN	Albany, N. Y.	Jan. 18, 1815	Nov. 19, 1855
BEDDOE, JOHN	Bristol, England	Apr. 27, 1887	July 19, 1911
BEER, WILLIAM	New Orleans, La.	Apr. 15, 1908	
BELL, CHARLES HENRY	Exeter, N. H.	Oct. 21, 1868	Nov. 11, 1893
BELL, JOHN JAMES	Exeter, N. H.	Apr. 30, 1879	Aug. 22, 1893
BELLOWS, JOHN	Gloucester, England	Oct. 21, 1892	May 5, 1902
BENEDICT, GEORGE GRENVILLE	Montpelier, Vt.	Apr. 26, 1899	Apr. 8, 1907
BENITEZ, JUSTO	Mexico City, Mexico	Apr. 30, 1884	June 12, 1900
BENSON, EGBERT	New York, N. Y.	Dec. 22, 1813	Aug. 24, 1833
BENTLEY, WILLIAM	Salem, Mass.	Feb. 3, 1813	Dec. 29, 1819
BENTON, THOMAS HART	St. Louis, Mo.	Oct. 22, 1855	Apr. 10, 1858
BERENDT, CARL HERMANN	Mérida, Yucatan	Oct. 21, 1876	May 12, 1878
BERENROTH, GUSTAV ADOLPH	London, England	Oct. 21, 1867	Feb. 13, 1869
BETHAM, SIR WILLIAM	Dublin, Ireland	May 30, 1838	Oct. 26, 1853

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
BIGLOW, ABIAH	Leominster, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1813	Apr. 5, 1860
BIGLOW, ANDREW	Eastport, Me.	Aug. 24, 1820	Apr. 1, 1877
BIGLOW, GEORGE TYLER	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 30, 1856	Apr. 12, 1878
BIGLOW, JOHN PRESCOTT	Boston, Mass.	May 31, 1843	July 4, 1872
BIGLOW, TIMOTHY	Boston, Mass.	Incorporator	May 18, 1829
BIGLOW, ABRAHAM	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1813	July 6, 1832
BIGLOW, WILLIAM	Boston, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	Jan. 12, 1844
BIGSBY, ROBERT	Repton, England	Oct. 23, 1851	Sept. 27, 1873
BILLINGS, JOHN SHAW	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 21, 1899	
BINGHAM, HIRAM	New Haven, Conn.	Oct. 20, 1909	
BIXBY, WILLIAM KEENEY	St. Louis, Mo.	Oct. 24, 1906	
BLACKBURN, GIDEON	Franklin, Tenn.	July 13, 1815	Aug. 23, 1838
BLAKE, FRANCIS	Worcester, Mass.	Incorporator	Feb. 23, 1817
BLAKE, FRANCIS	Weston, Mass.	Apr. 25, 1900	
BLAKE, GEORGE SMITH	Annapolis, Md.	Oct. 21, 1859	June 24, 1871
BLAKE, JOHN LAURIS	New London, Conn.	Jan. 18, 1815	July 6, 1857
BLAKESLEE, GEORGE HUBBARD	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1908	
BLANDING, WILLIAM	Philadelphia, Penn.	May 30, 1838	Oct. 19, 1857
BLISS, EUGENE FREDERICK	Cincinnati, Ohio	Oct. 21, 1892	
BLISS, PORTER CORNELIUS	New Haven, Conn.	Apr. 24, 1861	Feb. 1, 1885
BLOOMFIELD, JOSEPH	Burlington, N. J.	June 1, 1814	Oct. 3, 1823
BLYTHE, JAMES	Lexington, Ky.	July 13, 1815	May 20, 1842
BOAS, FRANZ	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 15, 1908	
BOGERT, JOHN GRIFFITH	New York, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Dec. 18, 1828
BOLIVAR, SIMON	Bogota, Columbia	Oct. 23, 1829	Dec. 17, 1830
BONAPARTE, CHARLES LUCIEN JULES LAURENT	Canino, Italy	May 28, 1845	July 29, 1857

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
BOND, HENRY	Philadelphia, Penn.	Apr. 28, 1858	May 4, 1859
BOND, WILLIAM	Dorchester, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Feb. 22, 1844
BOSWORTH, JOSEPH	Little Horwood, England	July 14, 1825*	May 27, 1876
BOTTA, CARLO GIUSEPPE GUGLIELMO	Paris, France	Dec. 29, 1821	Aug. 10, 1837
BOUDINOT, ELIAS	Burlington, N. J.	June 1, 1814	Oct. 24, 1821
BOUDINOT, ELISHA	Newark, N. J.	Oct. 24, 1814	Oct. 17, 1819
BOURINOT, JOHN GEORGE	Ottawa, Canada	Apr. 26, 1893	Oct. 13, 1902
BOURNE, EDWARD GAYLORD	New Haven, Conn.	Apr. 29, 1903	Feb. 24, 1908
BOUTELL, LEWIS HENRY	Evanston, Ill.	Apr. 24, 1895	Jan. 16, 1899
BOWDITCH, CHARLES PICKERING	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1891	
BOWDOIN, JAMES	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1822	Mar. 6, 1833
BOWEN, CLARENCE WINTHROP	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 27, 1904	
BOWEN, JABEZ	Providence, R. I.	June 1, 1814	May 7, 1815
BOWEN, PARDON	Providence, R. I.	Oct. 23, 1813	Oct. 25, 1826
BOWEN, WILLIAM	Providence, R. I.	Oct. 23, 1815	Jan. 17, 1832
BOWRING, JOHN	London, England	May 28, 1834	Nov. 23, 1872
BOYLSTON, WARD NICHOLAS	Princeton, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1819	Jan. 7, 1828
BOZMAN, JOHN LEEDES	Baltimore, Md.	June 1, 1814	Apr. 20, 1823
BRACKET, ADINO NYE	Lancaster, N. H.	July 14, 1825	Jan. 25, 1847
BRADFORD, ALDEN	Boston, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813†	
BRADFORD, LEBARON	Plymouth, Mass.	July 13, 1815†	
BRADLEY, SAMUEL AYER	Fryeburg, Me.	Jan. 20, 1819	Sept. 24, 1844
BRANDIS, CHRISTIAN AUGUST	Bonne, Switzerland	May 29, 1839	July 24, 1867
BRAY, OLIVER	Portland, Me.	Dec. 22, 1813	Dec. 26, 1823
BRAZER, JOHN	Cambridge, Mass.	Jan. 20, 1819	Feb. 26, 1846

* Again elected April 30, 1862.

† Declined.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
BRECKENRIDGE, HENRY MARIE	Pittsburgh, Penn.	Apr. 15, 1818	Jan. 18, 1871
BREVOORT, JAMES CARSON	Brooklyn, N. Y.	Oct. 21, 1868	Dec. 7, 1887
BREWSTER, DAVID	Edinburgh, Scotland	Oct. 23, 1816	Feb. 10, 1868
BRIDGHAM, SAMUEL WILLARD	Providence, R. I.	Oct. 23, 1813	Dec. 28, 1840
BRIGHAM, CLARENCE SAUNDERS	Providence, R. I.	Oct. 21, 1905	
BRIGHAM, ELIJAH	Westborough, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1813	Feb. 22, 1816
BRINLEY, GEORGE	Hartford, Conn.	Oct. 23, 1846	May 16, 1875
BRINLEY, GEORGE PUTNAM	Hartford, Conn.	Apr. 28, 1880	Aug. 24, 1892
BRINTON, DANIEL GARRISON	Philadelphia, Penn.	Oct. 21, 1870	July 31, 1899
BROCK, ROBERT ALONZO	Richmond, Va.	Oct. 22, 1877	
BRONSON, ENOS	Philadelphia, Penn.	July 13, 1815	Apr. 17, 1823
BROOKS, JAMES WILLSON	Petersham, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1900	Sept. 19, 1912
BROOKS, JOHN	Medford, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1816*	
BROWN, ETHAN ALLEN	Cincinnati, Ohio	Apr. 15, 1818	Nov. 24, 1852
BROWN, FRANCIS	North Yarmouth, Me.	Oct. 23, 1813	July 27, 1820
BROWN, JAMES	New Orleans, La.	Oct. 24, 1814	Apr. 7, 1835
BROWN, JOHN CARTER	Providence, R. I.	Oct. 22, 1855	June 10, 1874
BROWN, JOHN NICHOLAS	Providence, R. I.	Oct. 22, 1888	May 1, 1900
BROWN, MATTHEW	Washington, Penn.	July 13, 1815	July 29, 1853
BROWN, MOSES	Providence, R. I.	July 13, 1815	Sept. 6, 1836
BROWN, NICHOLAS	Providence, R. I.	Oct. 23, 1813	Sept. 27, 1841
BRUNTON, THOMAS	Edinburgh, Scotland	Oct. 23, 1816	Apr. 2, 1820
BRUNTON, ALEXANDER	Edinburgh, Scotland	Dec. 29, 1821	Feb. 9, 1854
BRYCE, JAMES	Sussex, England	Apr. 26, 1882	
BRYMNER, DOUGLAS	Ottawa, Canada	Oct. 21, 1898	June 19, 1902

* Declined.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
BULLOCK, ALEXANDER HAMILTON	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 25, 1855	Jan. 17, 1882
BULLOCK, AUGUSTUS GEORGE	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 25, 1888	
BURNET, JACOB	Cincinnati, Ohio	July 13, 1815	May 10, 1853
BURNSIDE, SAMUEL MACGREGOR	Worcester, Mass.	Incorporator	July 29, 1850
BURR, GEORGE LINCOLN	Ithaca, N. Y.	Apr. 15, 1908	
BURR, JONATHAN	Sandwich, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Aug. 2, 1842
BURRILL, JAMES	Providence, R. I.	July 13, 1815	Dec. 25, 1820
BURTON, CLARENCE MONROE	Detroit, Mich.	Oct. 16, 1907	
BUSCHMAN, KARL EDWARD	Berlin, Germany	Oct. 21, 1870	Apr. 21, 1880
BUTLER, JAMES DAVIE	Madison, Wis.	Apr. 26, 1854	Nov. 20, 1905
CABLE, GEORGE WASHINGTON	Northampton, Mass.	Oct. 22, 1888*	
CALDWELL, CHARLES	Philadelphia, Penn.	July 13, 1815	July 9, 1853
CAMPBELL, GEORGE DOUGLAS, Duke of Argyll	London, England	Oct. 21, 1869	Apr. 23, 1900
CAMPBELL, JAMES BUTLER	Charleston, S. C.	Apr. 25, 1866	Nov. 8, 1883
CAMPBELL, JAMES VALENTINE	Detroit, Mich.	Oct. 22, 1877	Mar. 26, 1890
CANTON, RODOLFO GREGORIO	Mérida, Yucatan	Apr. 24, 1878	
CAREY, MATHEW	Philadelphia, Penn.	July 13, 1815	Sept. 16, 1839
CARR, LUCIEN	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1886	
CARROLL, CHARLES	Baltimore, Md.	July 13, 1815	Nov. 14, 1832
CARROLL, JOHN	Baltimore, Md.	July 13, 1815	Dec. 3, 1815
CARTHY, DANIEL	Newbern, N. C.	July 13, 1815	(date unknown)
CARY, SAMUEL	Boston, Mass.	June 2, 1813	Oct. 22, 1815
CASARES, DAVID	Mérida, Yucatan	Oct. 21, 1904	
CASS, LEWIS	Detroit, Mich.	Dec. 29, 1821	June 17, 1866
CATTERALL, RALPH CHARLES HENRY	Ithaca, N. Y.	Oct. 21, 1908	

* Resigned, 1900.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
CHAMBERLAIN, ALEXANDER FRANCIS	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1902	
CHAMBERLAIN, JOHN CURTIS	Charlestown, N. H.	Oct. 23, 1815	Dec. 8, 1834
CHAMPLIN, CHRISTOPHER GRANT	Newport, R. I.	June 1, 1814	Mar. 28, 1840
CHANDLER, GEORGE	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1857	Mar. 17, 1893
CHANDLER, PELEG WHITMAN	Boston, Mass.	May 31, 1843	May 28, 1889
CHANNING, EDWARD	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1885	
CHAPIN, HENRY	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 27, 1853	Oct. 13, 1878
CHASE, CHARLES AUGUSTUS	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 28, 1880	June 5, 1911
CHASE, PLINY EARLE	Philadelphia, Penn.	Apr. 29, 1863	Dec. 17, 1886
CHASE, THOMAS	Providence, R. I.	Oct. 21, 1887	Oct. 5, 1892
CHATEAUBRIAND, FRANÇOIS RENÉ AUGUST	Paris, France	Oct. 23, 1816	July 4, 1848
CHAVERO, ALFREDO	Mexico City, Mexico	Apr. 27, 1881	Oct. 24, 1906
CHESTER, JOHN	Hudson, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Jan. 12, 1829
CHEVALIER, LOUIS EDOUARD	Paris, France	Oct. 21, 1882	
CHEVES, LANGDON	Charleston, S. C.	Oct. 24, 1814	June 25, 1857
CHILDS, GEORGE WILLIAM	Philadelphia, Penn.	Apr. 23, 1872	Feb. 3, 1894
CHURCH, ARTHUR HERBERT	Kew Gardens, England	Oct. 30, 1901	
CLAP, ELISHA	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1822	Oct. 22, 1830
CLARK, ABRAHAM	Newark, N. J.	June 1, 1814	July 28, 1854
CLARK, WILLIAM	St. Louis, Mo.	Oct. 24, 1814	Sept. 1, 1838
CLARKE, ADAM	Millbrook, England	Oct. 23, 1816	Aug. 21, 1832
CLARKE, ROBERT	Cincinnati, Ohio	Apr. 26, 1871	Aug. 26, 1899
CLAY, HENRY	Lexington, Ky.	Oct. 23, 1820	June 29, 1852
CLIFFORD, JOHN D.	Lexington, Ky.	Oct. 23, 1819	May 8, 1820
CLIFFORD, JOHN HENRY	New Bedford, Mass.	Apr. 27, 1870	Jan. 2, 1876
CLINTON, DEWITT	New York, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Feb. 11, 1828

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
CLOWES, TIMOTHY	Albany, N. Y.	Oct. 23, 1816	July 16, 1847
COBB, DAVID	Gouldsboro, Me.	June 1, 1814	Mar. 17, 1830
COMMAN, STEPHEN	Boston, Mass.	Jan. 18, 1815	May 7, 1844
COFFIN, CHARLES	Greeneville, Tenn.	June 1, 1814	June 3, 1853
COGSWELL, WILLIAM	Hanover, N. H.	Oct. 24, 1842	Apr. 18, 1850
COLMAN, WILLIAM	New York, N. Y.	July 13, 1815	July 13, 1829
COLT, JUDAH	Erie, Penn.	July 13, 1815	Oct. 11, 1832
COLTON, REUBEN	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1885	
CONANT, CALVIN	Putnam, Ohio	Apr. 15, 1818	Jan. 26, 1829
CONANT, SAMUEL MORRIS	Pawtucket, R. I.	Apr. 21, 1909	
CONRAD, JOHANNES	Wittenburg, Germany	Apr. 26, 1893	
COOLIDGE, ARCHIBALD CARY	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 12, 1911	
COOPER, CHARLES PURTON	London, England	May 27, 1835	Mar. 26, 1873
COREY, DELORAINE PENDRE	Malden, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1905	May 6, 1910
COTTON, ROSSETER	Plymouth, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Aug. 12, 1837
CRAIG, NEVILLE B.	Pittsburg, Penn.	Oct. 23, 1847	Mar. 5, 1863
CRANCH, JOHN	Bath, England	Apr. 15, 1818	Jan. 23, 1821
CRANCH, WILLIAM	Washington, D. C.	Dec. 22, 1813	Sept. 1, 1855
CREIGHTON, MANDELL	London, England	Apr. 28, 1897	Jan. 4, 1901
CROSS, WILLIAM	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1878	Feb. 14, 1880
CULBERTSON, JAMES	Zanesville, Ohio	July 13, 1815	1847
CUMMING, JOHN NOBLE	Newark, N. J.	Oct. 24, 1814	June 6, 1821
CUNDALL, FRANK	Kingston, Jamaica	Apr. 10, 1912	
CUNNINGHAM, HENRY WINCHESTER	Manchester, Mass.	Oct. 20, 1909	
CURTIS, ERNST	Berlin, Germany	Oct. 21, 1891	July 11, 1896
CUSHMAN, HENRY WYLES	Barnardston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1862	Nov. 20, 1863

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
CUSHMAN, JOHN FRANKLIN	Oxford, Miss.	Oct. 22, 1855	(date unknown)
CUSTIS, GEORGE WASHINGTON PARKE	Alexandria, Va.	July 13, 1815	Oct. 10, 1857
CUTHBERT, JAMES	Berthier, Lower Canada	Oct. 23, 1822	(date unknown)
CUTLER, EBENEZER	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1885	Jan. 16, 1898
CUTLER, MANASSEH	Hamilton, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	July 28, 1823
DAGGETT, DAVID	New Haven, Conn.	July 13, 1815	Apr. 12, 1851
DAMON, SAMUEL CHENERY	Honolulu	Oct. 21, 1869	Feb. 7, 1885
DANA, SAMUEL WHITTLESEY	Middletown, Conn.	Oct. 24, 1814	July 21, 1830
DANE, NATHAN	Beverly, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1816	Feb. 15, 1835
DAVIS, AARON	Roxbury, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1813	Mar. 23, 1817
DAVIS, ANDREW McFARLAND	Cambridge, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1882	
DAVIS, CUSHMAN KELLOGG	St. Paul, Minn.	Oct. 24, 1894	Nov. 27, 1900
DAVIS, EDWARD LIVINGSTON	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1867	Mar. 2, 1912
DAVIS, EDWIN HAMILTON	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 28, 1858	May 15, 1888
DAVIS, HORACE	San Francisco, Cal.	Apr. 30, 1862	
DAVIS, ISAAC	Worcester, Mass.	May 26, 1841	Apr. 1, 1883
DAVIS, JOHN	Boston, Mass.	Feb. 3, 1813*	Jan. 14, 1847
DAVIS, JOHN	Worcester, Mass.	June 28, 1821	Apr. 19, 1854
DAVIS, JOHN CHANDLER BANCROFT	Washington, D. C.	Apr. 30, 1851	Dec. 27, 1907
DAVIS, LIVINGSTON	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 10, 1912	
DAWES, THOMAS	Boston, Mass.	June 1, 1814†	July 22, 1825
DEADY, MATTHEW PAUL	Portland, Ore.	Oct. 23, 1889	Mar. 24, 1893
DEANE, CHARLES	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1851	Nov. 13, 1889
DEARBORN, HENRY	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1816	June 6, 1829
DEARBORN, HENRY ALEXANDER SCAMMELL	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1815	July 29, 1851

† Declined.

* Declined Oct. 8, 1813; re-elected Oct. 23, 1839.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
DERBY, ELLAS HASKETT	Salem, Mass.	Sept. 29, 1813	Sept. 16, 1826
DESOR, EDWARD	Neuchatel, Switzerland	Oct. 21, 1871	Feb. 23, 1882
DEVENS, CHARLES	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1878	Jan. 7, 1891
DEWEY, FRANCIS HENSHAW	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1869	Dec. 24, 1887
DEWEY, FRANCIS HENSHAW	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1891	
DEXTER, FRANKLIN BOWDITCH	New Haven, Conn.	Apr. 30, 1879	
DEXTER, GEORGE	Cambridge, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1876	Dec. 18, 1883
DEXTER, HENRY MARTYN	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 28, 1869	Nov. 13, 1890
DEXTER, MORTON	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 19, 1910	Oct. 29, 1910
DINSMORE, SILAS	St. Stephens, Miss.	Dec. 22, 1813	June 17, 1847
DIONNE, NARCISSE-EUTROPE	Quebec, Canada	Apr. 15, 1908	
DIXON, ROLAND BURRAOE	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 20, 1909	
DOANE, GUY WILLIAM	Circleville, Ohio	Jan. 20, 1819	
DODGE, PICKERING	Philadelphia, Penn.	Oct. 21, 1862	Feb. 4, 1862
DOUGHTY, ARTHUR GEORGE	Ottawa, Canada	Apr. 20, 1910	Dec. 28, 1863
DOW, GEORGE FRANCIS	Salem, Mass.	Oct. 19, 1910	
DOYLE, JOHN THOMAS	San Francisco, Cal.	Apr. 24, 1878	Dec. 1906
DRAKE, DANIEL	Cincinnati, Ohio	Apr. 15, 1818	Nov. 5, 1852
DRAPER, LYMAN COPELAND	Madison, Wis.	Oct. 22, 1877	Aug. 26, 1891
DRESSER, FRANK FARNUM	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 20, 1909	
DUNIWAY, CLYDE AUGUSTUS	Missoula, Mont.	Oct. 21, 1908	
DUNNING, WILLIAM ARCHIBALD	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 16, 1912	
DU PONCEAU, PETER STEPHEN	Philadelphia, Penn.	Oct. 23, 1816	Apr. 1, 1844
DUSTIN, ALEXANDER	Westminster, Mass.	June 28, 1821	Jan. 24, 1837
DUYCKINCK, EVERT AUGUSTUS	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 22, 1855	Aug. 13, 1878
DWIGHT, EDMUND	Springfield, Mass.	Incorporator	Apr. 1, 1849

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
DWIGHT, THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1885	
DWIGHT, TIMOTHY	New Haven, Conn.	Sept. 29, 1813	Jan. 11, 1817
EAMES, WILBERFORCE	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 26, 1893	
EARLY, SAMUEL STOCKWELL	Terre Haute, Ind.	Apr. 30, 1884	Sept. 18, 1884
EBELING, CHRISTOPH DANIEL	Hamburg, Germany	Oct. 24, 1814	June 30, 1817
EDDY, SAMUEL	Providence, R. I.	Aug. 24, 1820	Feb. 3, 1839
EDES, HENRY HERBERT	Charlestown, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1885	
EGGLESTON, EDWARD	Lake George, N. Y.	Apr. 26, 1893	Sept. 3, 1902
ELIOT, SAMUEL	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 23, 1815	Oct. 17, 1821
ELLERY, WILLIAM	Newport, R. I.	Dec. 22, 1813*	
ELLIOT, SIMON	Newton, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1813	Jan. 2, 1832
ELLIS, CALEB	Claremont, N. H.	Oct. 23, 1815	May 9, 1816
ELLIS, GEORGE EDWARD	Charlestown, Mass.	May 26, 1847	Dec. 20, 1894
ELTON, ROMEO	Providence, R. I.	May 31, 1843	Feb. 5, 1870
ENDICOTT, WILLIAM CROWNSHIELD	Salem, Mass.	Apr. 30, 1862	May 6, 1900
ENGLER, EDMUND ARTHUR	St. Louis, Mo.	Oct. 30, 1901	
ERSKINE, DAVID STEUART, Earl of Buchan	Edinburgh, Scotland	Oct. 23, 1816	Apr. 19, 1829
ERVING, GEORGE WILLIAMS	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 23, 1834	July 22, 1850
ESTABROOK, JOSEPH	Athol, Mass.	Aug. 24, 1820	Apr. 13, 1830
EUSTIS, WILLIAM	Boston, Mass.	July 13, 1815	Feb. 6, 1825
EVANS, CHARLES	Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 19, 1910	
EVERETT, CHARLES CARROLL	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1893†	
EVERETT, EDWARD	Boston, Mass.	July 13, 1815	Jan. 15, 1865
FARABEE, WILLIAM CURTIS	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1908†	
FARMER, JOHN	Amherst, N. H.	Oct. 23, 1819	Aug. 13, 1838

* Declined.

† Resigned.

‡ Resigned, 1912.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
FARNHAM, JOHN HAY	Frankfort, Ky.	Oct. 23, 1816	July 10, 1833
FARQUHARSON, ROBERT JAMES	Davenport, Iowa	Oct. 21, 1876	Sept. 6, 1884
FARRAND, MAX	New Haven, Conn.	Oct. 21, 1908	
FARRAR, JOHN	Cambridge, Mass.	June 1, 1814	May 8, 1853
FARRELLY, PATRICK	Meadville, Penn.	Aug. 24, 1820	Jan. 18, 1826
FEARING, PAUL	Marietta, Ohio	Oct. 23, 1816	Sept. 22, 1822
FELT, JOSEPH BARLOW	Boston, Mass.	May 25, 1842	Sept. 8, 1869
FELTON, CORNELIUS CONWAY	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1854	Feb. 26, 1862
FERNALD, MERRITT LYNDON	Cambridge, Mass.	Apr. 20, 1910	
FINLAY, GEORGE	Athens, Greece	Oct. 23, 1838	Jan. 26, 1874
FIRTH, CHARLES HARDING	Oxford, England	Oct. 21, 1892	
FISII, CARL RUSSELL	Madison, Wis.	Apr. 12, 1911	
FISHER, GEORGE PARK	New Haven, Conn.	Oct. 21, 1879	Dec. 20, 1909
FISCHER, HEINRICH	Freiburg, Germany	Oct. 21, 1881	Feb. 1, 1886
FISHER, MATURIN LEWIS	Farmersburg, Iowa	Oct. 22, 1855	Feb. 5, 1879
FISK, MOSES	Hilham, Tenn.	Dec. 22, 1813	1843
FISKE, JOHN	Cambridge, Mass.	Apr. 30, 1884	July 4, 1901
FISKE, OLIVER	Worcester, Mass.	Feb. 3, 1813	Jan. 25, 1837
FISKE, SAMUEL	Claremont, N. H.	Oct. 23, 1815	Dec. 30, 1834
FITCH, EBENEZER	Williamstown, Mass.	June 2, 1813*	Mar. 21, 1833
FOLSOM, CHARLES	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1849	Nov. 8, 1872
FOLSOM, GEORGE	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1831	Mar. 27, 1869
FOOTE, HENRY WILDER	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 27, 1887	May 29, 1889
FORBES, JOHN MURRAY	Milton, Mass.	July 14, 1825	June 14, 1831
FORBES, WILLIAM TROWBRIDGE	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1896	

* Resigned, 1817.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
FORCE, PETER	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 23, 1851	Jan. 23, 1868
FORD, WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 17, 1907	
FORTIER, ALCÉE	New Orleans, La.	Apr. 15, 1908	
FOSTER, ALFRED DWIGHT	Worcester, Mass.	July 14, 1825*	Aug. 10, 1852
FOSTER, DWIGHT	Brookfield, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1813	Apr. 29, 1823
FOSTER, DWIGHT	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1853	Apr. 18, 1884
FOSTER, THEODORE	Foster, R. I.	Aug. 24, 1820	Jan. 13, 1828
FOSTER, WILLIAM EATON	Providence, R. I.	Oct. 23, 1889	
FOWLE, WILLIAM BENTLEY	Boston, Mass.	Aug. 24, 1820	Feb. 7, 1865
FRANCIS, GEORGE EBENEZER	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 28, 1886	Nov. 20, 1912
FRANCIS, JOHN WAKEFIELD	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 24, 1814	Feb. 8, 1861
FRAZER, CHARLES	Charleston, S. C.	Oct. 23, 1834	Oct. 5, 1860
FREEMAN, EDWARD AUGUSTUS	Oxford, England	Apr. 29, 1885	Mar. 16, 1892
FREEMAN, NATHANIEL	Sandwich, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Sept. 20, 1827
FREEMAN, SAMUEL	Portland, Me.	Oct. 24, 1814	June 18, 1831
FRENCH, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 28, 1852	May 30, 1877
FROMENTIN, ELIGIUS	New Orleans, La.	Oct. 24, 1814	Oct. 6, 1822
FROTHINGHAM, RICHARD	Charlestown, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1858	Jan. 29, 1880
FULTON, ROBERT	New York, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Feb. 24, 1815
FUNES, GREGORIO	Buenos Aires, Argentina	July 14, 1825	Jan. 11, 1829
GAGE, HOMER	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 19, 1910	Sept. 17, 1909
GAGE, THOMAS HOVEY	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 24, 1878	(date unknown)
GAHN, HENRY	New York, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	(date unknown)
GALINDO, JUAN	Costa Rica	May 25, 1836	- Aug. 12, 1849
GALLATIN, ALBERT	New York, N. Y.	May 25, 1836	

* Declined 1825; re-elected Oct. 24, 1831.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
GARCIA, GENARO	Mexico City, Mexico	Apr. 17, 1907	
GARRISON, GEORGE PIERCE	Austin, Tex.	Oct. 16, 1907	July 3, 1910
GARVER, AUSTIN SAMUEL	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1899	
GASTON, WILLIAM	Raleigh, N. C.	Oct. 24, 1814	Jan. 23, 1844
GATSCHE, ALBERT SAMUEL	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 21, 1902	Mar. 16, 1907
GAY, EBENEZER	Hingham, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Feb. 11, 1842
GAY, FREDERICK LEWIS	Brookline, Mass.	Apr. 25, 1906	
GAY, SYDNEY HOWARD	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 24, 1878	June 25, 1888
GEORGE, ANDREW JACKSON	Dublin, Ireland	Apr. 29, 1863	(date unknown)
GERHARD, FRIEDRICH WILHELM EDWARD	Brookline, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1900	Dec. 27, 1907
GIBBS, GEORGE	Berlin, Germany	Oct. 23, 1837	May 12, 1867
GIBBS, JOSIAH WILLARD	New York, N. Y.	Feb. 3, 1813	Aug. 3, 1833
GILBERT, BENJAMIN JOSEPH	New Haven, Conn.	July 13, 1826	Mar. 25, 1861
GILBERT, EDWARD HOOKER	Hanover, N. H.	Oct. 23, 1815	Dec. 30, 1849
GILMAN, DANIEL COIT	Ware, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1900	
GILMAN, JOHN TAYLOR	Baltimore, Md.	Oct. 21, 1884	Oct. 13, 1908
GLADSTONE, WILLIAM EWART	Exeter, N. H.	June 1, 1814	Sept. 1, 1828
GODDARD, DELANO ALEXANDER	London, England	Oct. 21, 1887	May 19, 1898
GODDARD, WILLIAM	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1880	Jan. 10, 1882
GODDARD, WILLIAM GILES	Providence, R. I.	Sept. 29, 1813	Dec. 23, 1817
GOLDSBOROUGH, CHARLES	Providence, R. I.	Aug. 24, 1820	Feb. 16, 1846
GOLDSBOROUGH, ROBERT HENRY	Cambridge, Md.	Oct. 24, 1814	Dec. 13, 1834
GOODHUE, JONATHAN	New Eastern, Md.	Oct. 24, 1814	Oct. 5, 1836
GOODRICH, CHARLES AUGUSTUS	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 23, 1816	Nov. 24, 1848
GOODWIN, ISAAC	Worcester, Mass.	Aug. 24, 1820	Jan. 4, 1862
	Sterling, Mass.	June 2, 1813	Sept. 16, 1832

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
GOODWIN, WILLIAM WATSON	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1893*	Dec. 14, 1860
GORDON, GEORGE HAMILTON, Earl of Aberdeen	London, England	Oct. 23, 1844	Mar. 1, 1827
GORE, CHRISTOPHER	Waltham, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Nov. 26, 1896
GOULD, BENJAMIN APHORP	Cambridge, Mass.	Apr. 27, 1892	Sept. 16, 1901
GOULDING, FRANK PALMER	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1886	Dec. 8, 1846
GOUGAS, JOHN MARK	Milton, Mass.	Sept. 28, 1813	Sept. 17, 1822
GRANGER, EBENEZER	Zanesville, Ohio	Aug. 24, 1820	
GRANT, WILLIAM LAWSON	Kingston, Canada	Apr. 20, 1910	
GRAY, FRANCIS CALLEY	Boston, Mass.	Aug. 24, 1820	Dec. 29, 1856
GRAY, HORACE	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 22, 1860	Sept. 15, 1902
GRAY, WILLIAM	Boston, Mass.	Aug. 24, 1820	Nov. 4, 1825
GREEN, ANDREW HASWELL	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 23, 1889	Nov. 13, 1903
GREEN, ASHBEL	Princeton, N. J.	June 1, 1814	May 19, 1848
GREEN, JOHN	Worcester, Mass.	Feb. 3, 1813	Oct. 17, 1865
GREEN, JOHN	St. Louis, Mo.	Apr. 25, 1894	
GREEN, SAMUEL ABBOTT	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1865	
GREEN, SAMUEL SWETT	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 28, 1880	Dec. 24, 1857
GREENE, CHARLES WINSTON	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1814	Nov. 8, 1902
GREENE, JEREMIAH EVARTS	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 22, 1883	Mar. 20, 1834
GREENLEAF, MOSES	Williamsburgh, Me.	Aug. 24, 1820	Oct. 6, 1853
GREENLEAF, SIMON	Portland, Me.	Aug. 24, 1820	
GREENOUGH, CHARLES PELHAM	Brookline, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1891	Mar. 8, 1863
GRIMKÉ, FREDERICK	Cincinnati, Ohio	May 25, 1836	Oct. 1, 1834
GRIMKÉ, THOMAS SMITH	Charleston, S. C.	Oct. 23, 1833	
GROSVENOR, EDWIN AUGUSTUS	Amherst, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1896	

* Resigned.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
GUILD, REUBEN ALDRIDGE	Providence, R. I.	Apr. 26, 1876	May 13, 1899
GUILFORD, NATHAN	Cincinnati, Ohio	July 13, 1815	Dec. 18, 1854
GUNCKEL, LEWIS WINTER	Dayton, Ohio	Apr. 27, 1898	
HALE, EDWARD EVERETT	Roxbury, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1847	June 10, 1909
HALL, EDWARD HENRY	Cambridge, Mass.	Apr. 28, 1875	Feb. 22, 1912
HALL, GRANVILLE STANLEY	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 22, 1888 ¹	
HALL, HUBERT	London, England	Oct. 24, 1894	
HALL, JOHN ELIHU	Philadelphia, Penn.	Apr. 15, 1818	June 11, 1829
HALSEY, THOMAS LLOYD	Providence, R. I.	Oct. 23, 1813	Nov. 12, 1838
HALSEY, THOMAS LLOYD, Jr.	Providence, R. I.	Oct. 23, 1813	Feb. 2, 1855
HAMILTON, PETER JOSEPH	Mobile, Ala.	Apr. 15, 1908	
HAMLIN, CYRUS	Middlebury, Vt.	Apr. 25, 1883	Aug. 8, 1900
HAMMOND, ELISHA	Brookfield, Mass.	Incorporator	May 12, 1851
HANSON, ALEXANDER CONTEE	Georgetown, Md.	July 13, 1815	Apr. 23, 1819
HARDEN, WILLIAM	Savannah, Ga.	Oct. 21, 1884	
HARPER, ROBERT GOODLOE	Baltimore, Md.	July 13, 1815	Jan. 15, 1825
HARRIS, CLARENDON	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1878	Jan. 12, 1884
HARRIS, THADDEUS MASON	Dorchester, Mass.	Incorporator*	Apr. 3, 1842
HARRIS, WILLIAM	New York, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Oct. 18, 1829
HART, ALBERT BUSHNELL	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 20, 1909	
HASSLER, FERDINAND RUDOLPH	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 23, 1838	Nov. 30, 1843
HAVEN, NATHANIEL APPLETON	Portsmouth, N. H.	July 13, 1815	June 3, 1826
HAVEN, SAMUEL FOSTER	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1838	Sept. 5, 1881
HAWKINS, BENJAMIN	Hawkinsville, Ga.	Dec. 22, 1813	June 6, 1816
HAYDEN, FERDINAND VANDEVEER	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 21, 1873	Dec. 22, 1887

* Resigned, Oct. 23, 1817.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
HAYES, RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD	Fremont, Ohio	Oct. 21, 1890	Jan. 17, 1893
HAYNES, GEORGE HENRY	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1896	
HAYNES, HENRY WILLIAMSON	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 27, 1881	Feb. 16, 1912
HAYWOOD, JOHN	Nashville, Tenn.	Dec. 29, 1821	Dec. 1826
HECKEWELDER, JOHN GOTTLIEB ERNESTUS	Bethlehem, Penn.	Oct. 23, 1822	Jan. 21, 1823
HEDGE, LEVI	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1816	Jan. 3, 1844
HENRY, JOSEPH	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 23, 1851	May 13, 1878
HENRY, WILLIAM WIRT	Richmond, Va.	Apr. 26, 1893	Dec. 5, 1900
HERRON, FRANCIS	Pittsburg, Penn.	July 13, 1815	Dec. 6, 1860
HEYWOOD, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN	Worcester, Mass.	Aug. 24, 1820	Dec. 7, 1869
HIGGINSON, THOMAS WENTWORTH	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1874*	May 9, 1911
HILDRETH, SAMUEL PRESCOTT	Marietta, Ohio	Apr. 15, 1818	July 24, 1863
HILL, ALONZO	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1831	Feb. 1, 1871
HILL, BENJAMIN THOMAS	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 24, 1901	
HILL, DON GLEASON	Dedham, Mass.	Apr. 15, 1908	
HILL, HAMILTON ANDREWS	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 30, 1890	Apr. 27, 1895
HILL, MARK LANGDON	Phippsburgh, Me.	Oct. 23, 1816	Nov. 26, 1842
HILLHOUSE, JAMES	New Haven, Conn.	Dec. 22, 1813	Dec. 29, 1832
HITCHCOCK, EDWARD	Amherst, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1876†	Feb. 15, 1911
HITCHCOCK, GAD	Pembroke, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Nov. 29, 1835
HITCHCOCK, HENRY	St. Louis, Mo.	Apr. 26, 1882	Mar. 18, 1902
HOADLY, CHARLES JEREMY	Hartford, Conn.	Oct. 21, 1891	Oct. 19, 1900
HOAR, GEORGE FRISBIE	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1853	Sept. 30, 1904
HOAR, ROCKWOOD	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 25, 1894	Nov. 1, 1906
HOBBART, JOHN HENRY	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 24, 1814	Sept. 10, 1830

* Resigned, 1901.

† Resigned, 1882.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
HODGE, FREDERICK WEBB	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 21, 1908	
HOFFMAN, SAMUEL VERPLANCE	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 19, 1910	
HOLLEY, HORACE	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1816	July 31, 1827
HOLMES, ABIEL	Cambridge, Mass.	Feb. 3, 1813	June 4, 1837
HOLMES, WILLIAM HENRY	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 21, 1905	
HOLST, HERMANN EDUARD VON	Freiburg, Germany	Oct. 21, 1882	Jan. 20, 1904
HOOKE, JOHN	Springfield, Mass.	Aug. 24, 1820	Mar. 7, 1829
HOSACK, DAVID	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 24, 1814	Dec. 22, 1835
HOUGHTON, GEORGE FREDERICK	St. Albans, Vt.	Apr. 29, 1857	Sept. 22, 1870
HOWARD, JOHN EAGER	Baltimore, Md.	July 13, 1815	Oct. 12, 1827
HOYT, ALBERT HARRISON	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 28, 1875	
HUBBARD, GARDINER GREENE	Washington, D. C.	Apr. 25, 1894	Dec. 11, 1897
HUBBARD, SAMUEL DICKINSON	Middletown, Conn.	Apr. 27, 1853	Oct. 8, 1855
HÜBBE, JOAQUIN	Mérida, Yucatan	Oct. 21, 1881	Dec. 31, 1901
HUDSON, CHARLES	Westminster, Mass.	May 29, 1844	May 4, 1881
HUDSON, JOHN ELBRIDGE	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 25, 1894	Oct. 1, 1900
HUGUET-LATOUR, LOUIS ADOLPHE	Montreal, Canada	Apr. 24, 1861	May 1904
HULBERT, ARCHER BUTLER	Marietta, Ohio	Apr. 10, 1912	
HULL, CHARLES HENRY	Ithaca, N. Y.	Apr. 15, 1908	
HUMBOLDT, ALEXANDER VON	Berlin, Germany	Oct. 23, 1816	May 6, 1859
HUMBOLDT, WILHELM VON	Berlin, Germany	Dec. 29, 1821	Apr. 8, 1835
HUMPHREYS, DAVID	New Haven, Conn.	Dec. 22, 1813	Feb. 21, 1818
HUNNEWELL, JAMES FROTHINGHAM	Charlestown, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1869	Nov. 11, 1910
HUNT, DAVID	Northampton, Mass.	June 2, 1813	July 8, 1837
HUNT, GAHLARD	Washington, D. C.	Apr. 20, 1910	
HUNT, WILLIAM GIBBES	Lexington, Ky.	Oct. 23, 1819	Aug. 13, 1833

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
HUNTER, JOSEPH	London, England	Oct. 21, 1856	May 9, 1861
HUNTER, WILLIAM	Newport, R. I.	July 13, 1815	Dec. 3, 1849
HUNTINGTON, ARCHER MILTON	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 20, 1910	
HUNTINGTON, WILLIAM REED	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1875	July 26, 1909
ICAZBALCETA, JOAQUIN GARCIA	Mexico City, Mexico	Apr. 27, 1881	Nov. 26, 1894
INGLIS, JAMES	Baltimore, Md.	July 13, 1815	Aug. 15, 1820
IRVING, WASHINGTON	Irvington, N. Y.	July 13, 1815	Nov. 28, 1859
JACKSON, ANDREW	Nashville, Tenn.	Apr. 15, 1818	June 8, 1845
JACKSON, HENRY	Newport, R. I.	Apr. 25, 1855	Mar. 2, 1863
JACKSON, JAMES	Paris, France	Oct. 21, 1882	July 17, 1895
JACKSON, JOHN	Cincinnati, Ohio	Oct. 23, 1819	(date unknown)
JACKSON, RICHARD	Providence, R. I.	July 13, 1815	Apr. 18, 1838
JAMES, ELEAZER	Barre, Mass.	Incorporator	Apr. 14, 1843
JAMESON, JOHN FRANKLIN	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 21, 1890	July 12, 1838
JAMIESON, JOHN	Edinburgh, Scotland	Oct. 23, 1816	Oct. 31, 1884
JARVIS, EDWARD	Dorchester, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1854	Mar. 26, 1851
JARVIS, SAMUEL FARNAR	New York, N. Y.	Jan. 18, 1815	May 17, 1829
JAY, JOHN	Bedford, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Feb. 20, 1843
JAY, PETER AUGUSTUS	New York, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	July 4, 1826
JEFFERSON, THOMAS	Monticello, Va.	June 1, 1814	(date unknown)
JENCKS, WILLIAM SCOTT	Havana, Cuba	Jan. 20, 1819	
JENKS, HENRY FITCH	Canton, Mass.	Apr. 24, 1901	Nov. 13, 1866
JENKS, WILLIAM	Boston, Mass.	Feb. 3, 1813	Mar. 11, 1860
JENNISON, SAMUEL	Worcester, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Sept. 21, 1900
JENNISON, SAMUEL	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1884	Jan. 9, 1868
JEWETT, CHARLES COFFIN	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 23, 1851	

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
JOHNSON, EDWARD FRANCIS	Woburn, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1893*	
JOHNSTON, HENRY PHELPS	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 21, 1893	
JOHNSTON, ROBERT	Meadville, Penn.	July 13, 1815	May 20, 1861
JOMARD, EDMÉ FRANÇOIS	Paris, France	Oct. 22, 1855	Sept. 25, 1862
JONES, CHARLES COLCOCK	Augusta, Ga.	Apr. 28, 1869	July 19, 1893
JONES, HORATIO GATES	Philadelphia, Penn.	Oct. 21, 1867	Mar. 14, 1893
JONES, JOHN COFFIN	Boston, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Oct. 25, 1829
JONES, JOSEPH	New Orleans, La.	Oct. 22, 1877	Feb. 17, 1896
JONES, WILLIAM	Providence, R. I.	Sept. 29, 1813	Apr. 9, 1822
JUDD, SYLVESTER	Northampton, Mass.	May 26, 1847	Apr. 17, 1860
KANE, ELISHA KENT	Philadelphia, Penn.	Apr. 25, 1855	Feb. 16, 1857
KELLEN, WILLIAM VAIL	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1908	
KELLER, OTTO	Prague, Germany	Apr. 28, 1875	
KENT, JAMES	Albany, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Dec. 12, 1847
KING, JONAS	Athens, Greece	Apr. 26, 1865	May 22, 1869
KING, RUFUS	New York, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Apr. 29, 1827
KINGSBURY, FREDERICK JOHN	Waterbury, Conn.	Apr. 28, 1886	Sept. 30, 1910
KINNICUTT, LEONARD PARKER	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1896	Feb. 6, 1911
KINNICUTT, LINCOLN NEWTON	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1906	
KINNICUTT, THOMAS	Worcester, Mass.	May 25, 1842	Jan. 22, 1858
KIRKLAND, JOHN THORNTON	Cambridge, Mass.	Incorporator	Apr. 24, 1840
KITTHEDGE, GEORGE LYMAN	Newburyport, Mass.	Oct. 30, 1901	
KNAPP, SAMUEL LORENZO	Newburyport, Mass.	June 1, 1814	July 8, 1838
KNAPP, SHEPHERD	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 20, 1909	
KROEBER, ALFRED L.	San Francisco, Cal.	Oct. 21, 1908	

* Resigned, 1912.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
LAFAYETTE, GILBERT MOTIER DE	La Grange, France	July 14, 1825	May 20, 1834
LAMSON, CHARLES MARION	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 22, 1883	Aug. 8, 1899
LANE, WILLIAM COOLIDGE	Cambridge, Mass.	Apr. 15, 1908	
LANGLEY, SAMUEL PIERPONT	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 22, 1888	Feb. 27, 1906
LAPHAM, INCREASE ALLEN	Milwaukee, Wis.	Apr. 27, 1853	Sept. 14, 1875
LATANÉ, JOHN HOLLADAY	Lexington, Va.	Apr. 12, 1911	
LATHROP, JOHN	Boston, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	Jan. 4, 1816
LATHROP, JOHN, Jr.	Boston, Mass.	Sept. 29, 1813	Jan. 30, 1820
LATROBE, BENJAMIN HENRY	Washington, D. C.	July 13, 1815	Sept. 3, 1820
LAWRENCE, ABBOTT	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1846	Aug. 18, 1855
LAWRENCE, TIMOTHY BIGELOW	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1857	Mar. 21, 1869
LAWRENCE, WILLIAM	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1899	
LAWTON, WILLIAM	New Rochelle, N. Y.	Oct. 21, 1862	Apr. 27, 1881
LEA, HENRY CHARLES	Philadelphia, Penn.	Oct. 22, 1888	Oct. 24, 1909
LEAR, TOBIAS	Washington, D. C.	June 1, 1814	Oct. 11, 1816
LECKY, WILLIAM EDWARD HARTFOLE	London, England	Apr. 29, 1891	Oct. 23, 1903
LEE, FRANCIS HENRY	Salem, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1904	
LENOX, JAMES	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 26, 1854	Feb. 17, 1880
LEÓN, NICOLÁS	Mexico City, Mexico	Oct. 21, 1890	
LE PLONGEON, AUGUSTUS	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 24, 1878*	
LESCALLIER, DANIEL	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 24, 1814	May, 1822
LEVASSEUR, PIERRE ÉMILE	Paris, France	Apr. 26, 1905	July 10, 1911
LEWIS, ISAAC	New Rochelle, N. Y.	Oct. 23, 1816	Sept. 23, 1854
LINCOLN, DANIEL WALDO	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 28, 1869	July 1, 1880
LINCOLN, ENOCH	Fryeburg, Me.	Jan. 20, 1819	Oct. 11, 1829

* Resigned.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
LINCOLN, JOHN WALDO	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1840	Oct. 2, 1852
LINCOLN, LEVI	Worcester, Mass.	Incorporator	Apr. 14, 1820
LINCOLN, LEVI, JR.	Worcester, Mass.	Incorporator	May 29, 1868
LINCOLN, SOLOMON	Hingham, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1861	Dec. 1, 1881
LINCOLN, SOLOMON	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1882	Oct. 15, 1907
LINCOLN, WALDO	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 27, 1898	
LINCOLN, WILLIAM	Worcester, Mass.	July 14, 1825	Oct. 5, 1843
LITTLE, CHARLES COFFIN	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 22, 1855	Aug. 9, 1869
LITTLEFIELD, GEORGE EMERY	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 10, 1912	
LIVEMORE, EDWARD ST. LOE	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1815	Sept. 15, 1832
LIVEMORE, GEORGE	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1849	Aug. 31, 1865
LIVEMORE, WILLIAM ROSCOE	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1897	
LIVINGSTON, BROCKHOLST	New York, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Mar. 18, 1823
LIVINGSTON, EDWARD	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 23, 1833	May 23, 1836
LIVINGSTON, JASPER HALL	Jamaica, W. I.	July 13, 1815	Aug. 9, 1835
LOYD, JAMES	Boston, Mass.	Aug. 24, 1820	Apr. 5, 1831
LODGE, HENRY CABOT	Nahant, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1881	
LORD, ARTHUR	Plymouth, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1896	
LORD, NATHANIEL	Ipswich, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	Oct. 16, 1852
LORING, CHARLES GREELY	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 30, 1862	Oct. 8, 1867
LOSSING, BENSON JOHN	Dover Plains, N. Y.	Oct. 21, 1872	June 3, 1891
LOUBAT, JOSEPH FLORIMOND	Paris, France	Apr. 28, 1897	
LOVE, WILLIAM DE LOSS	Hartford, Conn.	Apr. 25, 1894	
LOWELL, ABBOTT LAWRENCE	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1899	
LOWELL, CHARLES	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1814	Jan. 20, 1861
LOWELL, FRANCIS CABOT	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 24, 1895	Mar. 6, 1911

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
LOWELL, JOHN	Boston, Mass.	Incorporator*	Mar. 11, 1840
LOWER, MARK ANTHONY	Lewes, England	May 29, 1844	Mar. 22, 1876
LUBBOCK, SIR JOHN, Lord Avebury	London, England	Oct. 21, 1893	
LYMAN, DANIEL	Providence, R. I.	July 13, 1815	Oct. 16, 1830
LYMAN, JONATHAN HUNT	Northampton, Mass.	Incorporator	Nov. 1, 1825
LYMAN, JOSEPH	Hatfield, Mass.	Sept. 29, 1813	Mar. 27, 1828
LYMAN, WILLIAM DENISON	Walla Walla, Wash.	Apr. 30, 1902	
MCALL, HUGH	Savannah, Ga.	Dec. 27, 1813	June 10, 1824
MCALL, SAMUEL WALKER	Winchester, Mass.	Oct. 30, 1901	
MACCARTY, NATHANIEL	Worcester, Mass.	Sept. 29, 1813	Oct. 14, 1831
MCCAUL, JOHN	Toronto, Canada	May 27, 1846	Apr. 16, 1897
MCCLURE, ROBERT JOHN LEMESURIER	Westminster, England	Apr. 25, 1855	Oct. 17, 1873
McCULLOH, JAMES H., Jr.	Baltimore, Md.	June 2, 1813	1860
MACDONALD, WILLIAM	Providence, R. I.	Oct. 21, 1902	
MCDOWELL, JOHN	Elizabeth, N. J.	July 13, 1815	Feb. 13, 1863
MACHADO, BERNARDINO	Lisbon, Portugal	Oct. 24, 1906	
McHENRY, JAMES	Baltimore, Md.	July 13, 1815	May 3, 1816
McKEAN, JOSEPH	Cambridge, Mass.	Feb. 3, 1813†	
MACKENZIE, RODERICK	Terrebonne, Canada	July 13, 1815	(date unknown)
McKESSON, JOHN	New York, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	June , 1829
McKINNEY, JOHN A.	Rogersville, Tenn.	Apr. 15, 1818	May 12, 1845
McLAUGHLIN, ANDREW CUNNINGHAM	Chicago, Ill.	Apr. 15, 1908	
MACLURE, WILLIAM	Philadelphia, Penn.	May 25, 1836	Mar. 23, 1840
McMASTER, JOHN BACH	Philadelphia, Penn.	Apr. 30, 1884	
MADISON, JAMES	Montpelier, Va.	Apr. 15, 1818	June 28, 1836

* Resigned, August 17, 1820.

† Declined, Feb. 18, 1813.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
MAGNUSEN, FINN	Copenhagen	May 25, 1836	Dec. 24, 1847
MARCH, FRANCIS ANDREW	Easton, Penn.	Oct. 21, 1881	Sept. 9, 1911
MARSH, GEORGE PERKINS	Burlington, Vt.	Oct. 23, 1851	July 23, 1882
MARSH, HENRY ALEXANDER	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1893	
MARSH, OTINIEL CHARLES	New Haven, Conn.	Oct. 22, 1877	Mar. 18, 1899
MARSH, SIDNEY HARPER	Forest Grove, Ore.	Oct. 22, 1860	Feb. 2, 1879
MARSHALL, ALEXANDER KEITH	Washington, Ky.	Oct. 23, 1816	Feb. 7, 1825
MARSHALL, JOHN	Washington, D. C.	Dec. 22, 1813	July 6, 1835
MARTIN, FRANÇOIS XAVIER	New Orleans, La.	Oct. 23, 1833	Dec. 11, 1846
MASON, EDWARD GAY	Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 21, 1887	Dec. 18, 1898
MASON, JEREMIAH	Portsmouth, N. H.	July 13, 1815	Nov. 14, 1848
MASON, JOHN EDWIN	Washington, D. C.	Apr. 28, 1869	Mar. 5, 1892
MASON, JOHN MITCHELL	New York, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Dec. 26, 1829
MASON, OTIS TUFTON	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 21, 1908	Nov. 5, 1908
MATHER, WILLIAM WILLIAMS	Columbus, Ohio	Oct. 22, 1855	Feb. 26, 1859
MATTHEWS, ALBERT	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 30, 1901	
MAUDSLAY, ALFRED PERCIVAL	London, England	Oct. 19, 1910	
MAXWELL, THOMAS	Tuscaloosa, Ala.	Oct. 22, 1877	1878
MAYER, BRANTZ	Baltimore, Md.	Apr. 29, 1857	Feb. 23, 1879
MEAD, EDWIN DOAK	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1891	
MEASE, JAMES	Philadelphia, Penn.	July 14, 1825	May 15, 1846
MEDINA, JOSÉ TORIBIO	Santiago de Chile	Apr. 21, 1909	
MELLEN, EDWARD	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 24, 1861	May 24, 1875
MENDENHALL, THOMAS CORWIN	Ravenna, Ohio	Apr. 24, 1895	
MENDOZA, GUMESINIO	Mexico City, Mexico	Apr. 27, 1881	Feb. 6, 1886
MERRIAM, JOHN MCKINSTRY	Framingham, Mass.	Oct. 22, 1888	

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
MERRICK, PLINY	Worcester, Mass.	July 13, 1826	Jan. 31, 1867
MERRILL, JAMES CUSHING	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1815	Oct. 4, 1853
MERRIMAN, DANIEL	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 30, 1884	Sept. 18, 1912
MERRIMAN, ROGER BIGELOW	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1902	
MESSER, ASA	Providence, R. I.	July 13, 1815	Oct. 11, 1836
METCALF, JOHN GEORGE	Mendon, Mass.	Apr. 24, 1867	Jan. 12, 1892
METCALF, THERON	Boston, Mass.	May 29, 1844	Nov. 13, 1875
MILLER, JAMES	Post of Arkansas	June 28, 1821	July 7, 1851
MILLER, SAMUEL	New York, N. Y.	Sept. 29, 1813	Jan. 7, 1850
MILLS, ELIJAH HUNT	Northampton, Mass.	Incorporator	May 5, 1829
MILNES, RICHARD MONCKTON, Lord Houghton	London, England	Apr. 27, 1870	Aug. 11, 1885
MITCHILL, SAMUEL LATHAM	New York, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Sept. 7, 1831
MITTERMATER, KARL JOSEPH ANTON	Heidelberg, Germany	May 28, 1845	Aug. 28, 1867
MONMSEN, CHRISTIAN MATTHIAS THEODOR	Berlin, Germany	Oct. 21, 1870	Nov. 1, 1903
MONROE, JAMES	Washington, D. C.	Apr. 15, 1818	July 4, 1831
MONTMORENCY, A. C. F., Duke de	Paris, France	May 25, 1836	May 26, 1846
MOORE, CLARENCE BLOOMFIELD	Philadelphia, Penn.	Apr. 24, 1895	
MOORE, GEORGE HENRY	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 28, 1880	May 5, 1892
MOORE, JACOB BAILEY	Concord, N. H.	Dec. 29, 1821	Sept. 1, 1853
MOORE, JESSE	Meadville, Penn.	July 13, 1815	Nov. 22, 1824
MOORE, ROBERT	Beaver, Penn.	Aug. 24, 1820	Jan. 14, 1831
MOREAU, CÉSAR	Paris, France	Oct. 23, 1834	Nov. 26, 1861
MORENO, MANUEL	Buenos Aires, Argentina	July 14, 1825	Dec. 18, 1857
MORGAN, LEWIS HENRY	Rochester, N. Y.	Oct. 21, 1865	Dec. 17, 1881
MORRIS, GOUVERNEUR	Morrisania, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Nov. 6, 1816
MORRIS, OLIVER BLISS	Springfield, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1854	Apr. 11, 1871

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
MORROW, JEREMIAH	Montgomery, Ohio	Oct. 24, 1814	Mar. 22, 1852
MORSE, ANSON DANIEL	Amherst, Mass.	Apr. 20, 1903	
MORSE, EDWARD SYLVESTER	Salem, Mass.	Apr. 27, 1898	
MORSE, JEDEDIAH	Charlestown, Mass.	Feb. 3, 1813	June 9, 1826
MORSE, SAMUEL FINLEY BREESE	Charlestown, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1815	Apr. 2, 1872
MORTON, SAMUEL GEORGE	Philadelphia, Penn.	May 29, 1844	May 15, 1851
MOTLEY, JOHN LOTHROP	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1856	May 29, 1877
MOZOOMDAR, PROTAP CHUNDER	Calcutta, India	Oct. 21, 1893	May 27, 1905
MUHLENBERG, HENRY AUGUSTUS	Reading, Penn.	June 1, 1814	Aug. 12, 1844
MUNRO, WILFRED HAROLD	Providence, R. I.	Apr. 21, 1909	
MUNSELL, JOEL	Albany, N. Y.	Apr. 26, 1854	Jan. 15, 1880
MUNSON, JEREMIAH RALEIGH	Granville, Ohio	Apr. 15, 1818	(date unknown)
MURCHISON, RODERIC IMPEY	London, England	Oct. 21, 1857	Oct. 22, 1871
NASH, WILLIAM	West Boylston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1813	Mar. 25, 1829
NASON, ELIAS	Billerica, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1865	June 17, 1887
NASON, REUBEN	Freeport, Me.	Oct. 24, 1814	Jan. 25, 1835
NELSON, THOMAS LEVERETT	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1878	Nov. 21, 1897
NELSON, WILLIAM	Paterson, N. J.	Apr. 21, 1909	
NEWBERRY, JOHN STRONG	Cleveland, Ohio	Oct. 22, 1860	Dec. 7, 1892
NEWTON, REJOICE	Worcester, Mass.	July 13, 1815	Feb. 4, 1868
NICHOLS, BENJAMIN ROPES	Salem, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1816	Apr. 30, 1848
NICHOLS, CHARLES LEMUEL	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 28, 1897	
NICOLAS, SIR NICHOLAS HARRIS	London, England	May 30, 1838	Aug. 3, 1848
NOBLE, HABUJAH WELD	Marietta, Ohio	July 13, 1815	May 10, 1816
NOBLE, JOHN	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1898	June 10, 1909
NOBLE, MARK	Barming, England	Oct. 23, 1816	May 26, 1827

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
NOTT, ELIPHALET	Schenectady, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Jan. 29, 1866
NOURSE, HENRY STEDMAN	Lancaster, Mass.	Oct. 22, 1883	Nov. 14, 1903
OBER, FREDERICK ALBION	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 21, 1893	
O'BRIEN, MICHEL CHARLES	Bangor, Me.	Oct. 24, 1900	Nov. 11, 1901
O'DOWD, JOHN	Portland, Me.	Apr. 27, 1904*	
OLCOTT, GEORGE	Charlestown, N. H.	Apr. 29, 1891	Apr. 10, 1895
OSGOOD, HERBERT LEVI	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 15, 1908	
OTIS, GEORGE ALEXANDER	Quincy, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1822	June 18, 1831
OTIS, HARRISON GRAY	Boston, Mass.	Incorporator	Oct. 28, 1838
OVERTON, JOHN	Nashville, Tenn.	Aug. 24, 1820	Apr. 12, 1833
OWEN, THOMAS McADORY	Montgomery, Ala.	Oct. 16, 1907	
PAIGE, LUCIUS ROBINSON	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1878	Sept. 2, 1896
PAINE, AMASA	Troy, N. Y.	Jan. 18, 1815	Dec. 25, 1823
PAINE, ELIJAH	Williamstown, Vt.	Dec. 22, 1813	Apr. 28, 1842
PAINE, FREDERICK WILLIAM	Worcester, Mass.	June 2, 1813	Sept. 16, 1869
PAINE, GEORGE STURGIS	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 24, 1867	Aug. 2, 1908
PAINE, NATHANIEL	Worcester, Mass.	Incorporator	Oct. 8, 1840
PAINE, NATHANIEL	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 22, 1860	
PAINE, WILLIAM	Worcester, Mass.	Nov. 19, 1812	Mar. 19, 1833
PALFREY, JOHN GORHAM	Cambridge, Mass.	Apr. 30, 1856	Apr. 26, 1881
PALGRAVE, FRANCIS	London, England	Apr. 25, 1860	July 6, 1861
PALTSITS, VICTOR HUGO	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 27, 1904	
PARISH, ELIJAH	Byfield, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	Oct. 14, 1825
PARK, JOHN	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1831	Mar. 2, 1852
PARK, THOMAS	Hampstead, England	Dec. 29, 1821	Nov. 26, 1834

* Resigned, 1911.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
PARKER, HENRY AINSWORTH	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 19, 1910	
PARKER, ISAAC	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1819	July 25, 1830
PARKMAN, FRANCIS	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 15, 1818	Nov. 12, 1852
PARKMAN, FRANCIS	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1865	Nov. 8, 1893
PARSONS, THEOPHILUS	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1813	Oct. 30, 1813
PARSONS, USHER	Providence, R. I.	May 31, 1843	Dec. 19, 1868
PARTIDGE, GEORGE	Duxbury, Mass.	June 1, 1814	July 7, 1828
PATTERSON, ROBERT	Pittsburg, Penn.	July 13, 1815	July 22, 1824
PEABODY, ANDREW PRESTON	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1856	Mar. 11, 1893
PEABODY, ENDICOTT	Groton, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1891*	
PEABODY, GEORGE	Peabody, Mass.	Apr. 24, 1867	Nov. 4, 1869
PEALE, FRANKLIN	Philadelphia, Penn.	Oct. 21, 1865	May 5, 1870
PEARSON, JOSEPH	Salisbury, N. C.	Oct. 24, 1814	Oct. 27, 1834
PECK, WILLIAM DANDRIDGE	Cambridge, Mass.	Incorporator	Oct. 3, 1822
PEDRO II., Emperor of Brazil	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	Apr. 28, 1858	Dec. 5, 1891
PEET, STEPHEN DENISON	Salen, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1882	
PENAFIEL, ANTONIO	Mexico City, Mexico	Apr. 20, 1910	
PENNYPACKER, SAMUEL WHITAKER	Pennypacker Mills, Penn.	Oct. 16, 1912	Jan. 23, 1894
PEREZ, ANDRES AZNAR	Mérida, Yucatan	Oct. 21, 1879	Feb. 26, 1874
PERLEY, IRA	Concord, N. H.	Apr. 25, 1866	May 13, 1898
PERRY, WILLIAM STEVENS	Davenport, Iowa	Apr. 26, 1882	
PEZET, FEDERICO ALFONSO	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 16, 1912	May 23, 1823
PHILLIPS, JOHN	Boston, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	May 29, 1823
PHILLIPS, WILLIAM	Boston, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	
PICKERING, JOHN	Salem, Mass.	Dec. 29, 1821	May 5, 1846

* Resigned.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
PIERCE, EDWARD LILLIE	Milton, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1892	Sept. 6, 1897
PIERCE, JOHN	Brookline, Mass.	Jan. 18, 1815	Aug. 24, 1849
PINCKNEY, CHARLES COTESWORTH	Charleston, S. C.	Dec. 22, 1813	Aug. 16, 1825
PINCKNEY, THOMAS	Charleston, S. C.	June 1, 1814	Nov. 2, 1828
PINTARD, JOHN	New York, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	June 21, 1844
PITKIN, TIMOTHY	Farmington, Conn.	July 13, 1815	Dec. 18, 1847
PLUMER, WILLIAM	Epping, N. H.	July 13, 1815	Dec. 22, 1850
POMEROY, SAMUEL WYLLS	Brighton, Mass.	June 1, 1814	June 5, 1841
POOLE, WILLIAM FREDERICK	Chicago, Ill.	Oct. 22, 1877	Mar. 1, 1894
POORE, BENJAMIN PERLEY	Newbury, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1874	May 20, 1887
PORTER, EDWARD GRIFFIN	Lexington, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1876	Feb. 5, 1900
PORTER, JACOB	Plainfield, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1822	Nov. 15, 1846
PORTER, SAMUEL	Greenburgh, Penn.	July 13, 1815	Sept. 23, 1825
POTTER, CHANDLER EASTMAN	Manchester, N. H.	Oct. 22, 1855	Aug. 3, 1868
POTTER, ELISHA REYNOLDS	South Kingstown, R. I.	July 13, 1815	Sept. 26, 1835
POWELL, JOHN WESLEY	Washington, D. C.	Apr. 27, 1898	Sept. 23, 1902
PREBLE, GEORGE HENRY	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1873	Mar. 1, 1885
PRESCOTT, SAMUEL JACKSON	Boston, Mass.	June 2, 1813	Oct. 7, 1857
PRESCOTT, WILLIAM HICKLING	Boston, Mass.	May 29, 1839	Jan. 28, 1859
PRINCE, JOHN	Salem, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1814	June 7, 1836
PRITCHETT, HENRY SMITH	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 30, 1902*	
PUTNAM, FREDERIC WARD	Cambridge, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1882	
PUTNAM, HERBERT	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 16, 1907	
PUTNAM, SAMUEL	Salem, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1816	July 3, 1853
QUEVEDO, SAMUEL A. LAFONE	LaPlata, Argentina	Apr. 20, 1910	

* Resigned.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
QUINCY, EDMUND	Dedham, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1875	May 17, 1877
QUINCY, JOSIAH	Boston, Mass.	Incorporator	July 1, 1864
RAFFLES, THOMAS STAMFORD	Java	Oct. 23, 1822	July 5, 1826
RAFINESQUE, CONSTANTINE SAMUEL	Philadelphia, Penn.	Aug. 24, 1820	Sept. 18, 1840
RAFN, CARL CHRISTIAN	Copenhagen	May 25, 1836	Oct. 20, 1864
RAMIREZ, JOSÉ FERNANDO	Mexico City, Mexico	Apr. 30, 1862	Mar. 4, 1871
RAMSAY, DAVID	Charleston, S. C.	June 2, 1813	May 8, 1815
RANDOLPH, JOHN	Roanoke, Va.	July 13, 1815	June 24, 1833
RAU, CHARLES	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 21, 1878	July 25, 1887
RAWSON, GUILLERMO	Buenos Aires, Argentina	Apr. 30, 1879	1890
REED, JOHN	Yarmouth, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Nov. 25, 1860
REYNOLDS, GRINDALL	Concord, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1885	Sept. 30, 1894
RHODES, DUDLEY WOODBRIDGE	Zanesville, Ohio	Oct. 23, 1816	Oct. 18, 1840
RHODES, JAMES FORD	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1900	
RICE, FRANKLIN PIERCE	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1906	
RICE, JOHN HOLT	Richmond, Va.	July 13, 1815	Sept. 3, 1831
RICE, WILLIAM WHITNEY	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1885	Mar. 1, 1896
RICH, OBADIAH	London, England	Oct. 23, 1834	Jan. 20, 1850
RICHARDS, JAMES	Newark, N. J.	June 1, 1814	Aug. 2, 1843
RICHARDSON, WILLIAM MERCHANT	Chester, N. H.	Oct. 23, 1819	Mar. 3, 1838
RIZO, RANGABÉ ALEXANDER	Athens, Greece	May 29, 1839	Jan. 28, 1892
ROBBINS, CHANDLER	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1857	Sept. 12, 1882
ROBBINS, EDWARD HUTCHINSON	Milton, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	Dec. 29, 1829
ROBBINS, SAMUEL PRINCE	Marietta, Ohio	July 13, 1815	Sept. 1823
ROBBINS, THOMAS	East Windsor, Conn.	Oct. 23, 1815	Sept. 13, 1856
ROBERTSON, JOHN JACOB	Syra, Greece	Oct. 23, 1837	Oct. 6, 1881

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
ROBERTSON, THOMAS BOLLING	New Orleans, La.	Dec. 29, 1821	Oct. 5, 1828
ROBINSON, GEORGE DEXTER	Chicopee, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1891*	
ROCHETTE, RAOUL	Paris, France	Oct. 23, 1838	July 3, 1854
RODRIGUEZ, JOSÉ CARLOS	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	Apr. 20, 1910	Nov. 12, 1904
ROGERS, HORATIO	Providence, R. I.	Apr. 26, 1882	Nov. 27, 1847
ROSS, JAMES	Pittsburg, Penn.	July 13, 1815	Aug. 6, 1859
ROSS, LUDWIG	Athens, Greece	Oct. 23, 1837	
ROSSI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA DE	Rome, Italy	Apr. 26, 1882	
ROTCH, ABBOTT LAWRENCE	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1899	Apr. 7, 1912
RUGG, ARTHUR PRENTICE	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1908	
RUSH, RICHARD	Washington, D. C.	June 1, 1814	July 30, 1859
RUSSELL, BENJAMIN	Boston, Mass.	Incorporator	Jan. 4, 1845
RUSSELL, ELIAS HARLOW	Tilton, N. H.	Oct. 24, 1900	
SACY, ANTOINE ISAAC SILVESTRE DE	Paris, France	Dec. 29, 1821	Feb. 20, 1838
SAINSBURY, WILLIAM NÔEL	London, England	Oct. 21, 1867	Mar. 9, 1895
SALISBURY, CHARLES BABCOCK	Little York, N. Y.	Oct. 21, 1863	Aug. 21, 1888
SALISBURY, EDWARD ELBRIDGE	New Haven, Conn.	Oct. 21, 1861	Feb. 6, 1901
SALISBURY, JAMES HENRY	Cleveland, Ohio	Apr. 30, 1862	Aug. 23, 1905
SALISBURY, STEPHEN	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1840	Aug. 24, 1884
SALISBURY, STEPHEN, JR.	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1863	Nov. 16, 1905
SALTONSTALL, LEVERETT	Salen, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1816†	May 8, 1845
SANDERS, DANIEL CLARKE	Burlington, Vt.	Dec. 22, 1813	Oct. 18, 1850
SARGENT, EPES	Boston, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	Apr. 18, 1822
SARGENT, JOSEPH	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 22, 1860	Oct. 13, 1888
SARGENT, WINTHROP	Natchez, Miss.	Dec. 22, 1813	June 3, 1820

* Resigned.

† Declined.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
SARGENT, WINTHROP	Philadelphia, Penn.	Oct. 21, 1859	May 18, 1870
SAVAGE, SAMUEL	Barnstable, Mass.	June 1, 1814	June 28, 1831
SAVILLE, MARSHALL HOWARD	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 21, 1908	
SCHINAS, CONSTANTINE DEMETRIUS	Athens, Greece	Oct. 23, 1838	(date unknown)
SCHLEGEL, AUGUST WILHELM	Copenhagen	May 25, 1836	May 12, 1845
SCHLIEMANN, HEINRICH	Athens, Greece	Apr. 27, 1881	Dec. 27, 1890
SCHOOLCRAFT, HENRY ROWE	Washington, D. C.	Dec. 29, 1821	Dec. 10, 1864
SCHOULER, JAMES	Intervale, N. H.	Oct. 16, 1907	
SCUDDER, DAVID	Barnstable, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Jan. 17, 1819
SEELYE, JULIUS HAWLEY	Amherst, Mass.	Apr. 28, 1880*	
SELDEN, GEORGE	Meadville, Penn.	July 14, 1825	Apr. 28, 1835
SELER, EDUARD	Berlin, Germany	Apr. 20, 1910	
SEVER, JAMES	Kingston, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Dec. 16, 1845
SEWALL, DAVID	York, Me.	Oct. 24, 1814	Oct. 22, 1825
SEWALL, SAMUEL	Marblehead, Mass.	June 1, 1814	June 8, 1814
SEWELL, STEPHEN	Montreal, Canada	Oct. 23, 1815	June 1832
SHATTUCK, LEMUEL	Concord, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1831	Jan. 17, 1859
SHAW, ALBERT	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 21, 1893	
SHAW, CHARLES	Boston, Mass.	Jan. 1, 1817	Nov. 1, 1828
SHAW, LEMUEL	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 22, 1855	Mar. 30, 1861
SHAW, WILLIAM SMITH	Boston, Mass.	Incorporator	Apr. 25, 1826
SHEAFFE, JAMES	Portsmouth, N. H.	July 13, 1815	Dec. 5, 1829
SHEFFEY, DANIEL	Staunton, Va.	Oct. 24, 1814	Dec. 3, 1830
SHELDON, WILLIAM	Jamaica, W. I.	June 2, 1813	June 28, 1822
SHERMAN, DAVID AUSTIN	Knoxville, Tenn.	Apr. 15, 1818	Dec. 4, 1843

* Declined.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
SHERWOOD, OLIVER HENRY	Toronto, Canada	Oct. 23, 1844	(date unknown)
SHIELDS, ARTURO	Campeche, Mexico	Apr. 30, 1884	Nov. 23, 1886
SHORT, JOHN THOMAS	Columbus, Ohio	Apr. 27, 1881	Nov. 11, 1883
SHURTLEFF, NATHANIEL BRADSTREET	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1849	Oct. 17, 1874
SHURTLEFF, ROSWELL	Hanover, N. H.	Oct. 23, 1813	Feb. 4, 1861
SILLIMAN, BENJAMIN	New Haven, Conn.	Sept. 29, 1813	Nov. 24, 1864
SLOANE, WILLIAM MILLIGAN	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 19, 1910	
SMITH, CHARLES CARD	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1876	
SMITH, DAVID	Columbus, Ohio	Jan. 20, 1819	Feb. 5, 1865
SMITH, GOLDWIN	Toronto, Canada	Oct. 21, 1893	June 7, 1910
SMITH, ISAAC	Boston, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	Sept. 29, 1829
SMITH, JEREMIAH	Exeter, N. H.	June 1, 1814	Sept. 21, 1842
SMITH, JOHN COTTON	Sharon, Conn.	Dec. 22, 1813	Dec. 7, 1845
SMITH, JUSTIN HARVEY	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 21, 1909	(date unknown)
SMITH, THOMAS	Franklin, Penn.	July 13, 1815	Jan. 6, 1871
SMITH, THOMAS BUCKINGHAM	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 21, 1862	
SMITH, WILLIAM ADDISON	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1867	
SMUCKER, ISAAC	Newark, Ohio	Apr. 26, 1871	Jan. 31, 1894
SMYTH, EGBERT COFFIN	Andover, Mass.	Apr. 27, 1870	Apr. 12, 1904
SNELLING, NATHANIEL GREENWOOD	Boston, Mass.	June 2, 1813	Sept. 7, 1858
SORREL, MONS. J.	Franklin, La.	Oct. 24, 1814	(date unknown)
SOUTHEY, ROBERT	Keswick, England	Oct. 23, 1822	Mar. 21, 1843
SPAFFORD, HORATIO GATES	Albany, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Aug. 7, 1832
SPALDING, LYMAN	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 24, 1814	Oct. 21, 1821
SPARKS, JARED	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1827	Mar. 14, 1866
SPEAR, WILLIAM	Greensburg, Penn.	July 13, 1815	Apr. 28, 1829

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
SPOONER, NATHANIEL	Plymouth, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Feb. 20, 1826
SPRAGUE, WILLIAM BUEL	Albany, N. Y.	May 27, 1846	May 5, 1876
STANHOPE, CHARLES, 3rd Earl	London, England	Oct. 23, 1816	Dec. 15, 1816
STANFORD, DANIEL	Boston, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	1820
STAPLES, HAMILTON BARCLAY	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 24, 1878	Aug. 2, 1891
STAPLES, WILLIAM REED	Providence, R. I.	Oct. 22, 1855	Oct. 19, 1868
STEARNS, EZRA SCOLLAY	Fitchburg, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1895	
STEBBINS, CALVIN	Framingham, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1891	
STEDMAN, WILLIAM	Worcester, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	Aug. 31, 1831
STEPHEN, LESLIE	London, England	Oct. 30, 1901	Feb. 22, 1904
STEVENS, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN	London, England	Oct. 21, 1896	Mar. 5, 1902
STEVENS, HENRY	London, England	Apr. 26, 1854	Feb. 28, 1886
STEVENSON, EDWARD LUTHER	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 15, 1908	
STOCKTON, RICHARD	Princeton, N. J.	July 13, 1815	Mar. 7, 1828
STODDARD, ELIJAH BRIGHAM	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1865	Sept. 27, 1903
STONE, EDWIN MARTIN	Providence, R. I.	Apr. 28, 1869	Dec. 15, 1883
STONE, ETHAN	Cincinnati, Ohio	Apr. 15, 1818	(date unknown)
STORY, JOSEPH	Salem, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Sept. 10, 1845
STOWE, CALVIN ELLIS	Hartford, Conn.	Apr. 26, 1865	Aug. 22, 1886
STRACHAN, JOHN	Toronto, Canada	May 27, 1846	Nov. 1, 1867
STRONG, CALEB	Northampton, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	Nov. 7, 1819
STRONG, LEWIS	Northampton, Mass.	Sept. 29, 1813	Oct. 25, 1863
STUBBS, WILLIAM	Oxford, England	Oct. 21, 1893	Apr. 22, 1901
SUAREZ, FEDERICO GONZÁLEZ	Quito, Ecuador	Apr. 20, 1910	
SUMNER, CHARLES	Boston, Mass.	May 31, 1843	Mar. 11, 1874

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
SUMNER, CHARLES PINCKNEY	Boston, Mass.	June 1, 1814*	Apr. 2, 1839
SUMNER, JOSEPH	Shrewsbury, Mass.	June 2, 1813	Dec. 9, 1824
SWEETSER, SETH	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1853	Mar. 24, 1878
SWORDS, JAMES	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 23, 1840	1843
TAFT, ALPHONSO	Cincinnati, Ohio	Oct. 21, 1876	May 2, 1891
TAFT, BEZALEEL	Uxbridge, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1820	July 16, 1846
TAFT, HENRY WALBRIDGE	Pittsfield, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1884	Sept. 22, 1904
TAFT, WILLIAM HOWARD	Washington, D. C.	Oct. 16, 1912	
TANNEHILL, WILKINS	Nashville, Tenn.	July 14, 1825	June 2, 1858
TAYLOR, ALEXANDER SMITH	Santa Barbara, Cal.	Apr. 27, 1864	July 27, 1876
TAYLOR, CHARLES HENRY, Jr.	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 10, 1912	
TAYLOR, HANNIS	Washington, D. C.	Apr. 30, 1890	
TEMPLE, FREDERICK	London, England	Apr. 28, 1897	Dec. 23, 1902
TENNEY, SAMUEL	Exeter, N. H.	July 13, 1815	Feb. 6, 1816
THACHER, GEORGE	Biddeford, Me.	Oct. 24, 1814	Apr. 6, 1824
THACHER, JAMES	Plymouth, Mass.	June 1, 1814†	May 26, 1844
THACHER, PETER OXENBRIDGE	Boston, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	Feb. 22, 1843
THAXTER, CALEB	Hingham, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Nov. 25, 1828
THAYER, NATHANIEL	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 25, 1866	Mar. 7, 1883
THOMAS, ALLEN CLAPP	Haverford, Penn.	Apr. 24, 1901.	
THOMAS, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1840	Sept. 27, 1878
THOMAS, EDWARD ISAIAH	Brookline, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1881	Dec. 25, 1890
THOMAS, ISAIAH	Worcester, Mass.	Incorporator	Apr. 4, 1831
THOMAS, ISAIAH, Jr.	Boston, Mass.	Incorporator	June 25, 1819
THOMAS, ISAIAH	Cincinnati, Ohio	Oct. 24, 1831	Feb., 1862

* Resigned 1817.

† Resigned 1815.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
THOMAS, JOSHUA	Plymouth, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Jan. 10, 1821
THOMAS, WILLIAM	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1850	June 19, 1872
THOMPSON, ABRAHAM RAND	Charlestown, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	May 11, 1866
THOMPSON, CHARLES OLIVER	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 24, 1878	Mar. 17, 1885
THOMPSON, EDWARD HERBERT	Mérida, Yucatan	Apr. 27, 1887	
THOMPSON, JOHN	Chillicothe, Ohio	Jan. 20, 1819	Dec. 2, 1842
THOMPSON, JONATHAN	Natchez, Miss.	Oct. 24, 1814	1823
THOMSON, CHARLES	Philadelphia, Penn.	Dec. 22, 1813	Aug. 16, 1824
THORNTON, JOHN WINGATE	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 25, 1855	June 6, 1878
THWAITES, REUBEN GOLD	Madison, Wis.	Apr. 27, 1892	
TIFFANY, PARDON DEXTER	Worcester, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1855	Feb. 14, 1861
TILDEN, JOSEPH	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1814	July 28, 1853
TILGHMAN, WILLIAM	Philadelphia, Penn.	Oct. 23, 1816	Apr. 30, 1827
TILLINGHAST, CALEB BENJAMIN	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 17, 1907	Apr. 28, 1909
TILLINGHAST, NICHOLAS	Taunton, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Apr. 24, 1818
TODD, THOMAS	Frankfort, Ky.	Oct. 23, 1820	Feb. 7, 1826
TOMPKINS, DANIEL D.	Tompkinsville, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	June 11, 1825
TOPPAN, ROBERT NOXON	Cambridge, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1885	May 10, 1901
TORREY, EBENEZER	Fitchburg, Mass.	Apr. 30, 1856	Sept. 15, 1888
TOZZEIT, ALFRED MARSTON	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1908	(date unknown)
TREVETT, BENJAMIN	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 24, 1814	Nov. 4, 1822
TREVETT, SAMUEL RUSSELL	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 24, 1814	Feb. 2, 1820
TRUMBULL, BENJAMIN	North Haven, Conn.	Oct. 24, 1814	Aug. 5, 1897
TRUMBULL, JAMES HAMMOND	Hartford, Conn.	Apr. 25, 1855	Oct. 22, 1846
TUCKER, ISHABOD	Salem, Mass.	July 13, 1815	

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
TUCKER, WILLIAM JEWETT	Hanover, N. H.	Apr. 25, 1894*	
TUCKERMAN, EDWARD	Amherst, Mass.	Apr. 25, 1855	Mar. 15, 1886
TUDOR, WILLIAM	Boston, Mass.	June 1, 1814	July 8, 1819
TURNER, FREDERICK JACKSON	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 16, 1907	
TUTTLE, JULIUS HERBERT	Dedham, Mass.	Apr. 15, 1908	
TYLER, LYON GARDINER	Williamsburg, Va.	Oct. 16, 1912	
TYLER, MOSES COIT	Ithaca, N. Y.	Apr. 30, 1879	Dec. 28, 1900
TYNG, DUDLEY ATKINS	Cambridge, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	Aug. 1, 1829
UPDIKE, DANIEL BERKELEY	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1904	
UPDIKE, WILKINS	South Kingstown, R. I.	July 13, 1815	Jan. 14, 1867
UPHAM, CHARLES WENTWORTH	Salem, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1858	June 15, 1875
UPHAM, GEORGE BAXTER	Claremont, N. H.	Oct. 23, 1815	Feb. 10, 1848
UPHAM, HENRY PRATT	St. Paul, Minn.	Oct. 21, 1893	May 1, 1909
UTLEY, SAMUEL	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 25, 1900	
VALENTINI, PHILIPP JOHANN JOSEPH	New York, N. Y.	Apr. 30, 1879	Mar. 16, 1899
VAN DER KEMP, FRANCIS ADRIAN	Oldenbarneveld, N. Y.	Oct. 23, 1822	Sept. 7, 1829
VAN RENSSSELAER, STEPHEN	Albany, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	Jan. 26, 1839
VATER, JOHN SEVERIN	Halle, Germany	Dec. 29, 1821	Mar. 17, 1826
VAUGHAN, BENJAMIN	Hallowell, Mass.	Dec. 22, 1813	Dec. 8, 1836
VAUX, ROBERTS	Philadelphia, Penn.	May 28, 1834	Jan. 7, 1836
VEDDER, CHARLES STUART	Charleston, S. C.	Apr. 24, 1901	
VERAGUA, Duke of	Madrid, Spain	Apr. 26, 1893	
VERPLANCK, GULIAN CROMMELIN	New York, N. Y.	Aug. 24, 1820†	Mar. 18, 1870
VIDAURRE, MANUEL LORENZO	Lima, Peru	Oct. 23, 1829	Mar. 9, 1841
VIGNAUD, HENRY	Paris, France	Oct. 21, 1896	

* Resigned.

† Elected again May 28, 1834.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
VINOGRADOFF, PAVEL GAVRILOVITCH	Moscow, Russia	Apr. 26, 1893	
VINTON, ALEXANDER HAMILTON	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1903	Jan. 18, 1911
VISCONTI, PIETRO ERCOLE	Rome, Italy	Apr. 29, 1868	Oct. 14, 1880
VOLLGRAFF, JOHANN CHRISTOPH	Utrecht, Holland	Oct. 23, 1895	
VOSE, RICHARD HAMPTON	Augusta, Me.	Oct. 22, 1855	Jan. 19, 1864
WALDECK, JEAN FRÉDÉRIC DE	Paris, France	Oct. 23, 1839	May 2, 1875
WALDO, DANIEL	Worcester, Mass.	July 13, 1826	July 9, 1845
WALKER, FRANCIS AMASA	New Haven, Conn.	Oct. 21, 1876	Jan. 5, 1897
WALKER, JOSEPH BURBEEN	Concord, N. H.	Apr. 30, 1879	
WALKER, WILLISTON	Hartford, Conn.	Apr. 24, 1901	
WALLCUT, THOMAS	Boston, Mass.	Incorporator	June 5, 1840
WALWORTH, REUBEN HYDE	Saratoga, N. Y.	Oct. 21, 1865	Nov. 2, 1867
WARD, SAMUEL	East Greenwich, R. I.	July 13, 1815	Aug. 16, 1832
WARD, THOMAS WALTER	Shrewsbury, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1813	Mar. 3, 1858
WARREN, HENRY	Plymouth, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1819	July 6, 1828
WARREN, JOHN COLLINS	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 30, 1856	May 4, 1856
WASHBURN, CHARLES CHENFILL	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 15, 1908	
WASHBURN, EMORY	Leicester, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1827	Mar. 18, 1877
WASHBURN, ISRAEL	Portland, Me.	Apr. 26, 1882	May 12, 1883
WASHBURN, JOHN DAVIS	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1871	Apr. 4, 1903
WASHINGTON, BUSHROD	Mt. Vernon, Va.	Dec. 22, 1813	Nov. 26, 1829
WATERS, THOMAS FRANKLIN	Ipswich, Mass.	Oct. 30, 1901	
WATERSTON, ROBERT CASSIE	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1871	Feb. 21, 1893
WATSON, ELKANAH	Pittsfield, Mass.	July 13, 1815	Dec. 5, 1842
WATT, JAMES T. B.	Jamaica, W. I.	June 1, 1814	(date unknown)
WAYLAND, FRANCIS	Providence, R. I.	Oct. 23, 1851	Sept. 29, 1865

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
WEBSTER, DANIEL	Portsmouth, N. H.	Oct. 24, 1814	Oct. 24, 1852
WEBSTER, NOAH	Amherst, Mass.	June 2, 1813*	May 28, 1843
WEBSTER, REDFORD	Boston, Mass.	Incorporator	Aug. 31, 1833
WEEDEN, WILLIAM BABCOCK	Providence, R. I.	Apr. 30, 1884	Mar. 28, 1912
WELLS, SAMUEL	Northampton, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1840	Oct. 4, 1864
WELLS, WILLIAM	Boston, Mass.	Incorporator	Apr. 21, 1860
WENDELL, BARRETT	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 20, 1910	
WEST, BENJAMIN	Charlestown, N. H.	June 1, 1814†	July 27, 1817
WHEATLAND, HENRY	Salem, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1871	Feb. 27, 1893
WHEATON, HENRY	New York, N. Y.	Oct. 23, 1820†	Mar. 11, 1848
WHEELER, THEOPHILUS	Worcester, Mass.	Aug. 24, 1820	Aug. 14, 1840
WHELOCK, JOHN	Hanover, N. H.	June 2, 1813	Apr. 4, 1817
WHITE, ANDREW DICKSON	Ithaca, N. Y.	Oct. 21, 1884	
WHITEHEAD, WILLIAM ADEE	Newark, N. J.	Oct. 22, 1855	Aug. 8, 1884
WHITIN, ALBERT HENRY	Whitinsville, Mass.	Apr. 20, 1910	
WHITMAN, ISAAC WINSLOW	Brewster, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Mar. 14, 1831
WHITMAN, JONAS	Barnstable, Mass.	June 1, 1814	July 30, 1824
WHITMAN, KILBORN	Pembroke, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Dec. 11, 1835
WHITNEY, JAMES LYMAN	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 24, 1894	Sept. 25, 1910
WHITNEY, WILLIAM DWIGHT	New Haven, Conn.	Apr. 29, 1808	June 7, 1894
WHITTLESEY, CHARLES	Cleveland, Ohio	Apr. 27, 1870	Oct. 18, 1886
WILKINS, CHARLES	Lexington, Ky.	Oct. 23, 1816	(date unknown)
WILKINSON, WILLIAM	Providence, R. I.	Sept. 29, 1813	May 16, 1852
WILLARD, JOSEPH	Lancaster, Mass.	July 13, 1826	May 12, 1865
WILLARD, SAMUEL	Deerfield, Mass.	Sept. 29, 1813	Oct. 8, 1859

* Declined, Aug. 2, 1813.

† Declined, July 30, 1814.

‡ Elected again Oct. 23, 1833.

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
WILLARD, SIDNEY	Cambridge, Mass.	June 2, 1813	Dec. 6, 1856
WILLIAMS, JOHN BICKERTON	Shrewsbury, England	May 30, 1838	Oct. 21, 1855
WILLIAMS, JOHN FLETCHER	St. Paul, Minn.	Apr. 26, 1882	Apr. 29, 1895
WILLIAMS, SAMUEL	Cincinnati, Ohio	Oct. 23, 1819	Feb. 3, 1859
WILLIAMS, SAMUEL	London, England	Jan. 20, 1819	Sept. 19, 1853
WILLIAMS, STEPHEN	Northborough, Mass.	Jan. 20, 1819	Feb. 6, 1838
WILLIAMS, THOMAS	Roxbury, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1819	(date unknown)
WILLIAMS, TIMOTHY	Boston, Mass.	Incorporator	Feb. 19, 1846
WILLIAMSON, HUGH	New York, N. Y.	Dec. 22, 1813	May 22, 1819
WILLIAMSON, JOSEPH	Belfast, Me.	Oct. 21, 1897	Dec. 4, 1902
WILLIS, WILLIAM	Portland, Me.	Apr. 27, 1864	Feb. 17, 1870
WILSON, DANIEL	Toronto, Canada	Apr. 24, 1861	Aug. 6, 1892
WILSON, JAMES	Philadelphia, Penn.	Oct. 23, 1816	(date unknown)
WILSON, JOHN NEWMAN	Newark, Ohio	Apr. 29, 1868	Oct. 8, 1872
WILSON, JOSHUA LACEY	Cincinnati, Ohio	July 13, 1815	Aug. 14, 1846
WILSON, ROBERT G.	Chillicothe, Ohio	July 13, 1815	Apr. 17, 1851
WILSON, WILLIAM	Newark, Ohio	Apr. 15, 1818	May 29, 1827
WINSHIP, GEORGE PARKER	Providence, R. I.	Apr. 26, 1899	Oct. 3, 1819
WINSLOW, ISAAC	Marshfield, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Nov. 29, 1819
WINSLOW, JOHN	Hanover, Mass.	June 1, 1814	Oct. 22, 1897
WINSOR, JUSTIN	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1880	1846
WINTHROP, ADAM	Baton Rouge, La.	July 13, 1826	Sept. 26, 1821
WINTHROP, JAMES	Cambridge, Mass.	June 2, 1813	Nov. 16, 1894
WINTHROP, ROBERT CHARLES	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1838	Feb. 22, 1841
WINTHROP, THOMAS LINDALL	Boston, Mass.	June 2, 1813	
WINTHROP, THOMAS LINDALL	Boston, Mass.	Apr. 30, 1890	

NAME	RESIDENCE	DATE OF ELECTION	DATE OF DEATH
WINTHROP, WILLIAM	Cambridge, Mass.	Oct. 23, 1813	Feb. 5, 1825
WOLCOTT, OLIVER	New York, N. Y.	June 1, 1814	June 1, 1833
WOOD, WILLIAM	Quebec, Canada	Apr. 20, 1910	
WOODS, HENRY ERNEST	Boston, Mass.	Oct. 16, 1907	
WOODS, LEONARD	Brunswick, Me.	May 28, 1845	Dec. 24, 1878
WOODWARD, ASHBEL	Franklin, Conn.	Apr. 27, 1864	Dec. 20, 1885
WOODWARD, RUFUS	Worcester, Mass.	Oct. 21, 1865	Dec. 30, 1885
WOODWARD, SAMUEL BAYARD	Worcester, Mass.	May 26, 1841	Jan. 3, 1850
WOODWARD, SAMUEL BAYARD	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 15, 1908	
WOOLLEY, ABRAHAM R.	Pittsburgh, Penn.	July 13, 1815	(date unknown)
WRIGHT, CARROLL DAVIDSON	Worcester, Mass.	Apr. 26, 1893	Feb. 20, 1909
WRIGHT, JOHN	New Lancaster, Ohio	July 13, 1815	(date unknown)
WRONG, GEORGE MCKINNON	Toronto, Canada	Oct. 19, 1910	
WYLIE, ANDREW	Canonsburg, Penn.	July 13, 1815	Nov. 11, 1851
WYMAN, JEFFRIES	Cambridge, Mass.	Apr. 29, 1868	Sept. 5, 1874
WYNNE, THOMAS HICKS	Richmond, Va.	Oct. 21, 1873	Feb. 24, 1875
XIMENES DE LA ESPADA, MARCO	Madrid, Spain	Oct. 21, 1882	
YOUNG, ALEXANDER	Boston, Mass.	May 26, 1841	Mar. 16, 1854
ZARAGOZA, JUSTO	Madrid, Spain	Oct. 21, 1882	

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